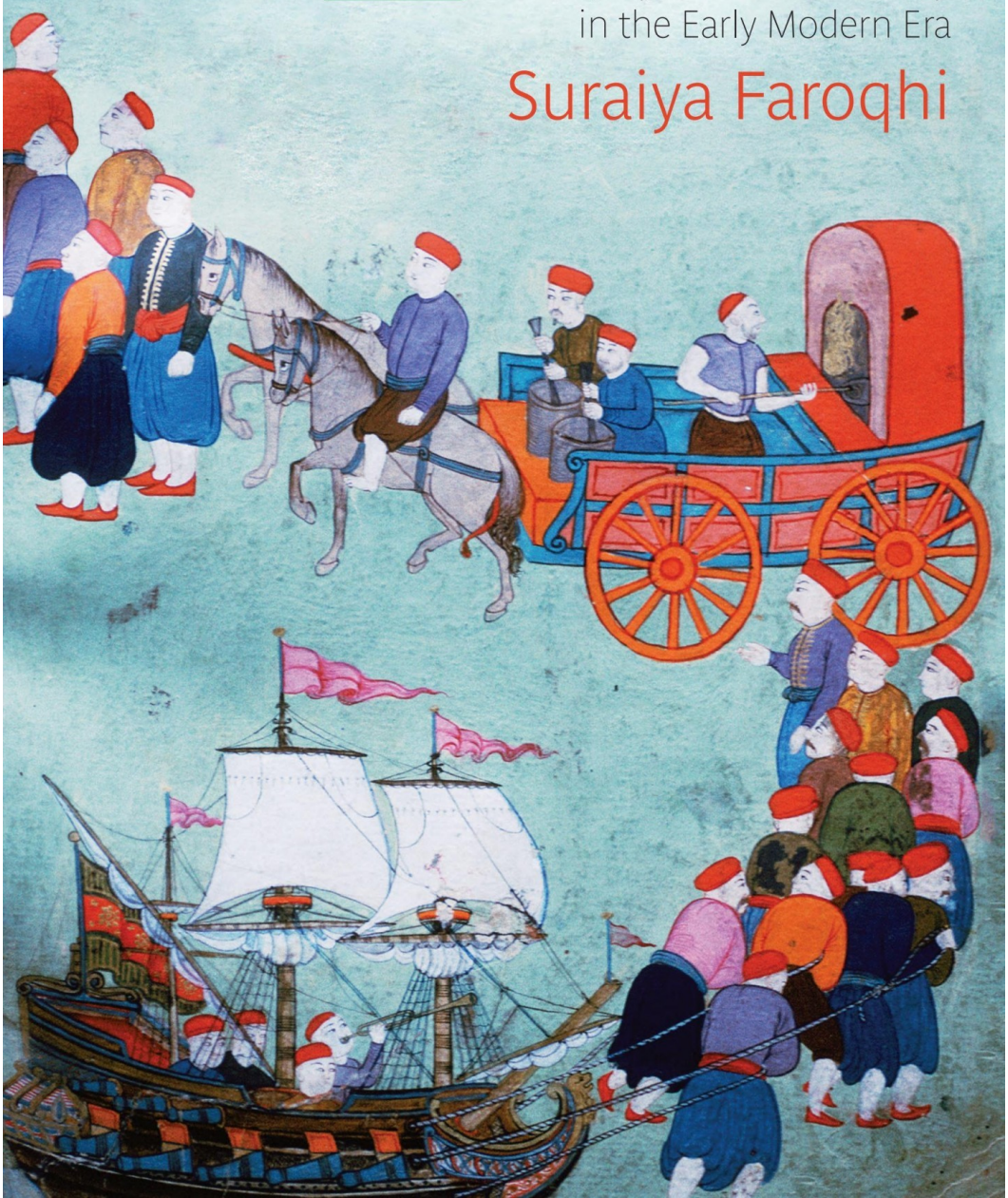
Travel and Artisans in the Ottoman Empire

I.B. TAURIS

Employment and Mobility in the Early Modern Era

Suraiya Faroqhi



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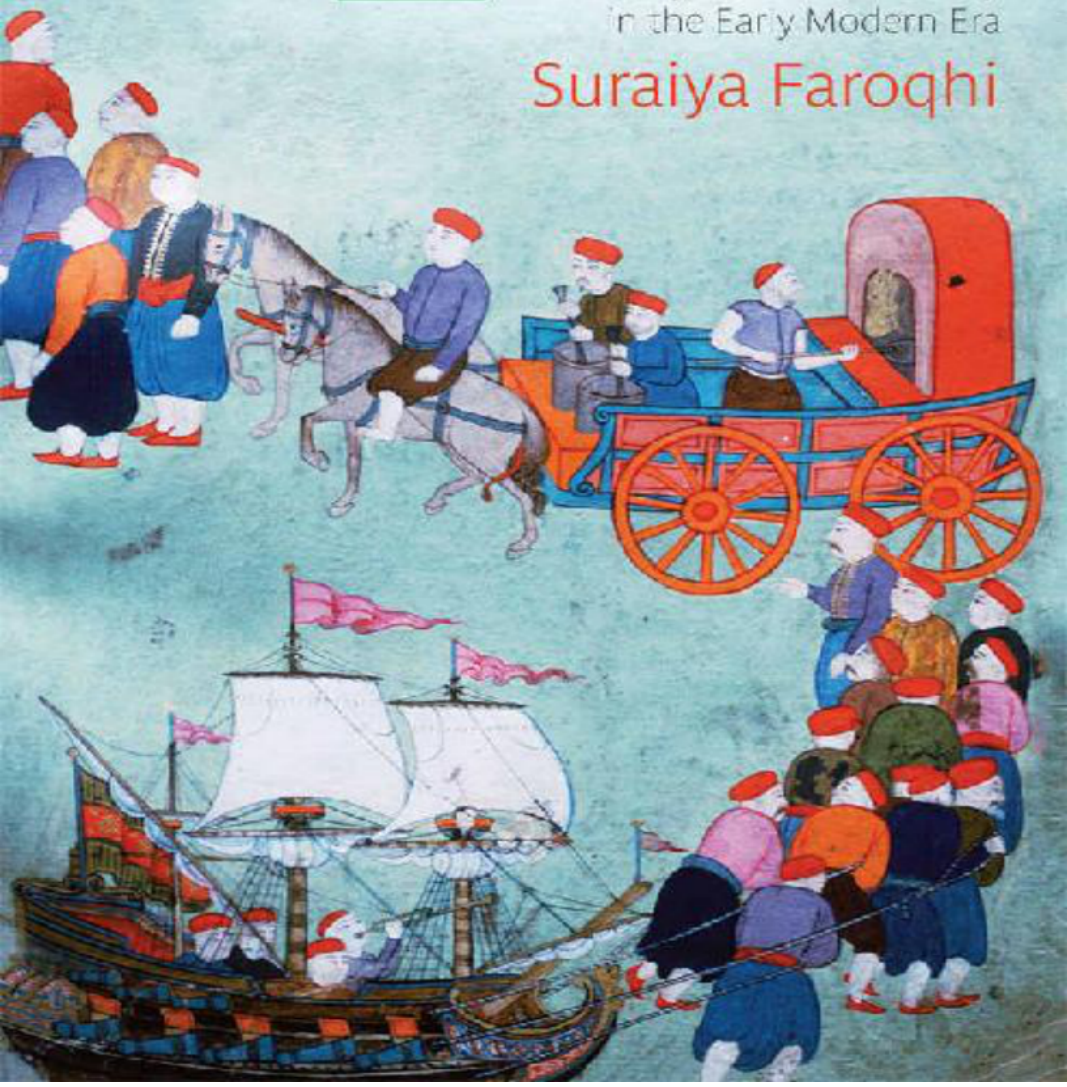

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I.B. TAURIS
LONDON · NEW YORK

Published in 2014 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd
6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010
www.ibtauris.com

Distributed in the United States and Canada Exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan
175 Fifth Avenue, New York NY 10010

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References to websites (URLs) were accurate at the time of writing.

Library of Ottoman Studies 44

ISBN 978 1 78076 481 8
eISBN 978 0 857 73858 5

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library
A full CIP record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

Library of Congress catalog card: available

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INTRODUCTION1

Elite travellers and ordinary people on the move

Perhaps it is unavoidable that historians choose their topics on account of their life-experiences. The present author has always loved to travel, and during the last few years, having a place of work in Istanbul and a home in Munich has allowed her to indulge her passion to the full. However, travelling partly for work and partly for pleasure, by train, bus or plane, is a totally different experience from trudging along unpaved roads and spending the nights in a makeshift tent if not out in the open; and to avoid romanticism, one of the major pitfalls of all historical work, as authors and readers we need constantly to be aware of this crucial difference.

At the beginning of our discussion we need to pay our respects to the memory of Cengiz Orhonlu (1927–76). In his work on attempts by Ottoman officialdom to settle nomads and establish a degree of security on the roads, but especially in his many articles on river transportation, ferryboats, the upkeep of urban pavements, and related matters he has laid the groundwork on which all studies of mobility in the Ottoman world still depend.[1]

Beginning his professional career as an archivist, Orhonlu was one of the first historians to work with many of the document categories that people interested in Ottoman communications and mobility still study, remaining very close to the primary sources throughout his short but very fruitful career. Since there are few documents surviving from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that were not the work of officialdom, Orhonlu's studies thus tend to present the issues from the perspective of early modern sultans and their servitors. Today's researchers try to include other perspectives as well, for instance those of the merchants who used Ottoman routes. But as the present author has experienced many times, this is not an easy thing to do; and doubtless, after perusing the present volume, most readers will come to the same conclusion.

Mobility without official orders: flight from the villages, trade, and pilgrimage

Why is it of interest to study 'Ottomans on the move'? Quite simply because in so doing we discover aspects of the sultans' subjects and their lives that otherwise remain in the shadow. Using the knowledge thus gained, we can begin to construct a more multi-dimensional – or at least a less one-sided – image of Ottoman society. After all, in the established perception of rural dwellers and townspeople in Anatolia and the Balkans, issues linked to travel and mobility in space often'fall by the wayside', at least for the period preceding the enormous migrations and deportations of the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Certainly there are good reasons for privileging 'people who stayed put': we know that Ottoman peasants had to obtain permission from the person who collected their taxes and administered their villages before they could legitimately leave. Quite a few court records show holders of imperial tax grants (*sipahi* or holders of *timar*s), revenue farmers (*mültezim, voyvoda*) or administrators of pious foundations (*mütevelli*) demanding the return of this or that person who had settled in a town, claiming that he had originated from a settlement under their responsibility. In a countryside that in many cases was not too densely inhabited, land after all was only of value if there were enough people to work it. Sometimes such court cases resulted in the migrant's being told to return, while in other instances the tax grantees may have been unable to prove their claims. Or else the migrant might benefit from a statute of limitations, in other words the rule that after ten to twenty years' residence a former peasant could not be forced to return to his village. Even if the outcome was positive for the migrant, appearing in court cost fees, and tracking down witnesses must have been a further source of toil and trouble.[2] We therefore can assume that villagers stayed put unless they had serious reasons to do otherwise. On the other hand, since we know that rural dwellers abandoning their farmsteads were a common phenomenon, we should discuss what 'push and pull' factors were at work.

For during the late 1500s and throughout the seventeenth century, peasants who left their villages to join the sultans' armies as mercenaries were common phenomena. Given tax pressures, especially the poor harvests of the Little Ice Age, may well have caused many young villagers to flee their farms. However, this latter assumption is surrounded by controversy, for while the exact dates of the Little Ice Age are under dispute, some climate specialists think that the cooling typical of this stage of the earth's history began long before the period studied here, namely just when the Ottomans were emerging as a small principality in north-western Anatolia, between 1275 and 1300

CE.[3] If Miller and his team are correct, the Little Ice Age cannot be held responsible for events occurring around 1600; however, other scientists have proposed the years around 1550 because they assume that worldwide glacial expansion began at that point. This dating is compatible with the agricultural crises recently discussed by Sam White, and the same thing applies to the fact that 1650 marks the first climatic minimum on the northern part of the globe. This relatively cold period continued into the later 1800s or even the early twentieth century.

Climatically based problems apart, if there was more than one surviving son and the family chose to abide by the long-established rule that forbade the subdivision of farmsteads, life as a permanent dependent may not have appealed to many younger sons. For such people, service as mercenaries might seem a more attractive option, all the more as a local tax administrator/collector might find it very difficult to locate and return to his village a man who was – however temporarily – in the service of the monarch. While soldiers of the regular army, the *kul,* were averse to allowing newcomers the privileges that membership in the Sultan's military forces normally entailed, many villagers joined up none the less and lost their lives and limbs in campaigns against the Safavids and Habsburgs.[4] If they were very lucky, at the end of their service they might land modest positions in Istanbul or some border fortress. In any event, a mercenary migrated as part of his 'job description'; probably but very few ex-soldiers ever returned to their villages.

In addition there were nomads and semi-nomads, whose everyday lives were defined by mobility. At least in Anatolia, the border between these people and settled peasants must often have been permeable, as villages possessed summer pastures quite a distance away, where settled folk went to graze their sheep and cattle while at the same time avoiding the heat and malaria that affected many Anatolian coastlands during the summer. Quite often villagers shared the use of these pastures with nomads and semi-nomads, who since the 1700s had been exposed to significant pressures from settled peasants and the Ottoman state apparatus but had not yet given up their accustomed mode of life. At markets held on summer pastures, villagers and nomads not only exchanged material goods but surely information as well, in which the condition of travel routes must have figured prominently.[5] Former nomads settled down for economic reasons or because of state pressure, often against their will; but we can also assume – documents are mostly silent on this issue – that certain villagers who retained connections to the nomad world, especially in unsettled times, preferred to try their luck as migrant sheep-breeders.

Furthermore, trade was impossible without travel: even if an established merchant remained in his office in Cairo or Istanbul, he needed partners, sometimes relatives, who undertook to travel on his behalf. Traders who 'stayed put' and avoided partnerships with itinerant associates could conduct their business only because the centres where they lived were frequented by large numbers of travelling merchants. Thus in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Egyptian merchant Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, originally from Syria but who seems to have spent his entire life in Cairo, depended on his connections with people who travelled to India; or in another instance, he joined up with a Jewish trader who went to Venice, thus enlarging the scope of his business.[6]

After all, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contacts with Venice were close, and hundreds of Ottoman merchants, Jews, Muslims and Christians visited the *Serenissima* with some regularity.[7] One reason was the trade in mohair and mohair fabrics (*sof*): angora wool could be spun very fine and then transformed into delicate fabrics with a sheen similar to that of silk; moreover, *sof* kept the wearers warm. While some importation of mohair was in the hands of Venetians, many people bringing in this textile were Ottoman subjects, who regularly crossed the Adriatic from one of the sultan's ports. Quite often, in so doing, they fell prey to pirates, particularly the so-called Uskoks, border warriors loosely controlled by the Habsburgs, who had no hesitation in attacking even Christian merchants. In the pirates' perspective these traders were 'doing business with the infidel' and thus fair game.[8] Once in Venice, during the 1500s Muslim merchants had, like their Christian counterparts, found lodgings in the city. However in the early 1600s the Venetian authorities, presumably wishing to comply with the Counter-Reformation zeitgeist, decided to limit the interaction of Muslim traders with the locals by housing the visitors in a so-called *fondaco*, a structure used for a combination of commercial and residential purposes throughout the Mediterranean world.[9] We do not know, unfortunately, how the Bosnian, Istanbul-based or Anatolian traders felt about this arrangement.

In the eighteenth century, long-distance trade undertaken by Orthodox inhabitants of the Balkans greatly expanded, as Traian Stoianovich demonstrated in a classic study published over half a century ago.[10] The author showed how muleteers might benefit from the relatively expansive economic atmosphere of the mid-1700s to turn into traders, marketing the goods that family members and fellow villagers had produced during the winter. More recent studies have confirmed the frequency of these extensive travels: thus a firm based in Thessaly and with a branch office in Vienna or today's Budapest

might send a member to the border settlement of Zemun, where the merchants paid their tolls before entering the Ottoman or Habsburg domains, depending on the direction of their journey.[11] During the same period, attending the fairs of Leipzig was also a routine matter for many Balkan merchants. Even emigration to the domains of foreign rulers was not unheard of; thus, when in the later eighteenth century, Maria Theresa (r. 1740–80) and her son and co-regent Joseph II (r. 1765–90) demanded that foreign merchants with long-term business interests in the Habsburg domains swear allegiance to them, certain Greek merchants preferred to settle permanently in today's Budapest and elsewhere, often prospering as a result.

Trade was thus a major reason for Ottoman subjects to travel, but in addition many Muslims undertook lengthy travels because they wished to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, a task incumbent on every Muslim with the means to finance the journey. Some of the pilgrims were quite poor; and although the Ottoman authorities always assumed that every pilgrim was responsible for his/her subsistence during the journey, piety demanded that people who needed help would get it. In the late 1500s at least, the hajj caravan contained a tent where food was available for pilgrims who had run out of funds.[12]

However, the document that recounted the relevant arrangement mainly listed its defects. As so often, it is hard to tell whether everything went well in cases where there were no records. Or else the few documents available may have represented the real situation 'on the ground', in other words, cases of malfunctioning were frequent. Whatever the situation in any given year, both wealthy and poor people travelled huge distances in order to fulfil their religious duties, and while Jews and Orthodox or Armenian Christians were not obliged to visit Jerusalem, quite a few of them did so and engaged in lengthy travels as a result. In their case as well, pilgrimage was a source of prestige, and once returned home, these people also were known as *haci,* although Ottoman officials quite often deliberately misspelled the word so as to distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims.

Some of the pilgrims to Mecca were members of the Ottoman elite; and in this context, a few words must be said about Evliya Çelebi (1611 to post-1683); for without his monumental ten-volume work, writing Ottoman social history would be even more difficult than it is at present.[13] Evliya only embarked on the pilgrimage when in his early sixties; but before that event and afterwards as well, he spent his life travelling. Mostly he explored the Ottoman lands, but occasionally he visited neighbouring realms as well, including Safavid Tabriz and Hamadan, Habsburg Vienna and most remarkably the course of the Nile beyond the borders of the sultan's domains. While he had hoped

to find the source of the great river, he had to turn back before he could do so. Even so, Evliya came back with a map of the Nile region, a testimony to his prowess as an explorer.[14]

Given all this activity, it is hard to believe that the Sultan was the only power that controlled the movements of his subjects. Members of the elite as well as 'ordinary' people had lives of their own to conduct, and in quite a few cases, the business of living – and of making a living – made it necessary for them to move from place to place, often not once but many times. As it is one of the major aims of this book – and my work as an Ottoman historian in general – to show the agency of the sultans' subjects both elite and non-elite, there will be a special concern with movements that people undertook upon their own initiative. But of course other forms of mobility were due to the sultan's command, and they are also worth a closer look.

Movement at the sultan's command

The surviving documents show the Ottoman sultans moving their subjects around like pieces on a chessboard, recruiting them for their service through the levy of boys (*devşirme*) or settling them in distant provinces (*sürgün*). Many peasants must have suffered hardship when they saw their sons being taken to distant Istanbul to end up as janissaries, at least if the boys' luck held out.[15] Or else whole families needed to traverse the mountains of southern Anatolia because their fellow townsmen or villagers had decided that they – and no one else – were to form part of the contingent that this or that province needed to furnish for the settlement of newly conquered Cyprus.[16] In peacetime, building projects sponsored by the sultans might require large numbers of artisans to leave their hometowns to work on building sites in Istanbul, or if they were really unfortunate, to refurbish a fortress in a cold country on the frontier with the empire of the tsars.

Elite mobility often also was often determined by the sultan's will, or more concretely by the appointments that officials were able to secure. A qadi of lower rank might stay within a limited geographical area, but even such a judge might still move back and forth between Istanbul and the Anatolian or Balkan region in whose towns he normally held office. Scholar-officials aspiring to high rank moreover did follow the *cursus honorum* that required them to travel long distances. In the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries many provincial administrators had received their training in the palace and then were sent to faraway places as military men cum provincial administrators. Mehmed Ağa, for instance, who later in life became the architect of the Sultan Ahmed mosque, went to Syria as a military officer.[17]

Joining the sultan's army involved travel to the Iranian or Hungarian frontiers, or even crossing the sea if the man in question received an assignment to participate in the long-drawn-out Cretan War (1645–69). The memoirs that the famous architect Sinan, a janissary during his younger years, in his old age dictated to a friend referred to his share in the construction of ships to be used on Lake Van. Sinan also built a bridge in Moldavia, close to the river Pruth, and participated in Sultan Süleyman's campaign against the Knights of St John in Rhodes (1522). The famous architect also had fought on the Hungarian frontier.[18] Even in the eighteenth century, when the military efficiency of the janissaries was much reduced and many were really tradesmen, there were still Egyptian artisans cum members of army corps who willy-nilly crossed the Mediterranean and participated in the sultans' campaigns.[19]

Members of the elite and commoners in contrast

Even if an ex-peasant-turned-mercenary and an elite figure, for instance a recently appointed provincial governor or fortress commander, travelled the same routes, their experiences were rather different. Certainly the physical condition of the road, which was often poor, was the same for everybody, but while a simple soldier would have to walk, an elite figure would have a horse or camel available. When it came to spending the night, a soldier or an artisan sent to a distant fortress might sleep in a khan where comforts were rudimentary at best; an elite figure would have a well-appointed tent at his disposal, or sometimes accept an invitation from a local notable. When artisans went from Istanbul to the Balkans, the trip might be partly by ship, first on the Black Sea and later on the Danube or some other great river. Presumably these travels on often overcrowded ships were especially uncomfortable.

Moreover, we can assume that the experiences of 'settling in' after a lengthy period of travel were different for elite and non-elite figures. When a qadi arrived in a town of Anatolia or the Balkans, he would often have a residence waiting for him: both the traveller Evliya Çelebi and archival documents quite often refer to the local *mahkeme* or courthouse.[20] No such seventeenth-century building has come down to us, nor do I know of any descriptions, but archival records sometimes refer to criminals attacking the courthouse, presumably to remove or destroy the registers kept there. Furthermore, it is probable that the courthouse was a residence built in the locally favoured style, perhaps with two courtyards, as was common in well-to-do houses, at least in Central Anatolia. Presumably the qadi resided there, together with his family if he had brought them along. As for governors and

other high-level bureaucrats, while they did not necessarily live in a building reserved for them, they presumably rented or purchased a residence of quality. Evliya regularly included lists of the more remarkable elite dwellings in his descriptions of Ottoman towns, where he had often stayed as a guest.[21] In some cases governors might also reside in the local citadel.

Artisans sent to work on a fortress must have spent their days and nights in the same place as such a governor, but presumably in much less comfortable surroundings. At times they may have shared the soldiers' accommodations, but we know nothing about the arrangements that the commanders must have made for them. Nor can we say anything much about the food that these craftsmen got to eat, whether they were served by a kitchen in the fortress or whether they bought their bread, yoghurt and garlic in the local markets. On these issues, we certainly have many questions but very few answers. However, it makes sense to keep the questions in mind none the less, for once the researcher has posed them, one fine day he/she may find a document that does provide at least partial answers. Without explicitly stating the problem beforehand, even the limited evidence available may escape notice.

Staying home

If the present study is principally concerned with mobility, I do not mean to say that everybody in the Ottoman world was constantly on the move. Given the technical means available in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the contrary must have been true. Firstly, many people experienced travel but once or twice in a lifetime. A pilgrim might journey to Mecca, or, if a Christian or a Jew, visit the holy sites of Jerusalem. But once he had returned to his home town, he might never again leave it. Similarly an artisan drafted for work on a faraway fortress might return home grateful for having survived the rigours of the journey, the unfamiliar food and also occasional brawls with the locals: once again, he might never again leave his family and his workshop.

Secondly, the Ottoman administration did not encourage movement among its subjects, for the simple reason that an empire based on agrarian taxation could only function if the taxpayers remained of easy access. It is well known that Ottoman peasants were to remain in their villages unless they had received permission to move by their local administrators, who were also in charge of collecting their taxes. While the present work deals with peasants only in an indirect fashion, namely when they had migrated into towns and thus stopped being villagers, we still need to keep in mind that these people must

often have feared that somebody would denounce them as fugitives and the administrator of their former village demand their return. Even if the fifteen to twenty years had passed that, as previously noted, made a former villager into a townsman, according to sultanic law, the people affected must have worried about such denunciations, as much trouble and expense were involved in bringing together the witnesses who would testify to the migrant's change of status. If the former peasant had settled in Istanbul, these worries probably multiplied several times over.

Artisans also received little encouragement to move: differently from France or Central Europe, journeymen did not relocate from one city to another to gain experience and also help balance supply and demand in the labour market. On the contrary, a journeyman in line for a slot (*gedik*), which he would need to practise his trade independently, would do better if he stayed in his master's workshop, as seniority was often a criterion for allocation.

However, many artisans needed to travel quite a bit in the course of their everyday work: thus in Istanbul greengrocers and milkmen, to name but two examples, must often have visited the countryside just beyond the land-walls, which remained rural into the mid-twentieth century. Fires and other accidents also often forced artisans to move: for when an earthquake had destroyed their shops and workshops they must have relocated to wherever space was available, sometimes at a distance of several kilometres. In some cases such events may have even been welcome to younger artisans who hoped to 'get out from under' the supervision of their elders, which was more rigid when everybody shared space in a khan or shop-lined street. Thus, even 'stay-at-homers' moved around, albeit on a small scale, and it is for this reason that I have included a section on people who 'stayed put'.

To summarize: elite and non-elite travellers, on the roads by obligation or else of their own free will

In putting together the present volume, the focus is on the difference between members of the elite when they travelled, and those of commoners who did the same thing. *A tout seigneur tout honneur*:[22] the first section is devoted to the travels of ambassadors, highly placed refugees who found a place in the sultans' domains, a diplomat (or perhaps a spy) passing through Venice, and other more modest people who took the same route. It is a great pity that the traveller Evliya Çelebi never visited the Venetian lagoon! Some of these elite figures moved around because they were envoys; and when it came to visiting foreign parts it is quite likely that most of them were happy when they

could leave the 'lands of the unbelievers' behind and return to the well-protected domains of the Sultan. Evliya of course is the exception, for as he emphasized at the beginning of his work, travelling was his great passion, which he valued on a par with being in the best of health and maintaining a good standing in the hereafter.[23]

In the second section of this volume, the focus is on non-elite figures including pilgrims, artisans and slaves. While pilgrims had a choice, and at least could decide whether a given year was propitious for the long journey, artisans drafted for work on a fortress did not have that kind of leeway. Slaves normally had the least choice of all, although as we will see, some did make a major decision when they tried their luck in flight.

As for the third section of our book, it acknowledges the simple fact that, especially in the artisan world, immobility was common enough, if only because from the 1700s onward, many artisans in Istanbul and elsewhere could only make a living if they possessed a so-called 'slot'(*gedik*). Very often this precious though immaterial commodity was inherited, so that the son of a master would practıse his craft in the locale that his father had used before him.

Presenting the texts

Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the experiences of eighteenth-century ambassadors who visited European capitals, as part of the 'diplomatic offensive' by which sultans and grand viziers of this period attempted to collect information and establish the Ottoman presence at foreign courts. While embassies to the Muslim world have not been discussed in this volume, it is important to remember that the 'diplomatic offensive' also involved sending ambassadors to late Safavid Iran.[24] In Chapter 1, the focus is specifically on collecting political information on the European scene; in the late 1600s Zülfikâr Paşa, whose attempts to find a way of ending the war of 1683–99 were very poorly received at the Habsburg court, struggled to assemble information on the western front, where in the Rhineland the emperor was under attack by the armies of Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715). However, Zülfikâr Paşa's semi-captivity on the one hand, and his lack of diplomatic experience on the other, resulted in a collection of separate news items without a great deal of synthesis. By contrast, Ebubekir Ratib, who visited Vienna in 1792, had the support of Mouradgea d'Ohsson, an experienced dragoman, and came away with a great deal of information which his subsequent disgrace did not, however, permit him to exploit. Even more sophisticated was the description of Paris written by Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, who spent five years in

this city and wrote about the use of money, the postal service and the newly established Conservatoire des Métiers, with an emphasis on inter-connections between institutions that had been alien to most of his eighteenth-century predecessors.

The third chapter deals with the reception of refugees and asylum seekers, who might be of modest status, like the Spanish Jews and Moriscos arriving between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth century. But much more is known about elite figures from Hungary and Transylvania, and the most elevated personage of them all, namely the Swedish King Charles XII (r. 1697–1718), who, when he finally left in 1714 had by far outstayed his welcome, and even worse, attempted to involve the Sultan in a new war with Peter I of Russia. To avoid this eventuality the Ottoman government ended up holding the king as a distinguished semi-captive.

When considering which refugees to accept and what to do with them, pragmatic considerations were dominant: non-elite people presumably gained acceptance when they had special skills, such as the Spanish Jews who were cloth manufacturers and, in a few cases, brought money and diplomatic connections mostly gained in Italy. Similar pragmatism determined how to behave towards elite Muslim refugees, and in the mid-1500s an Iranian prince who was unable to deliver on his political promises was sent back to face the wrath of his brother Shah Tahmasp I (r. 1524–76).

Chapter 4 discusses Evliya Çelebi's description of Cairo, where he spent several years after his return from the pilgrimage (1672); in fact he may have died there, but nothing is known about the circumstances of his death. While Cairo was the second city of the empire, it was different enough from the Ottoman central lands for Evliya to engage in a bit of exoticism, not only when it came to describing plants and fruits but also when discussing the local trades.[25] For this purpose the traveller developed two special categories: 'trades that exist in Cairo but not elsewhere' and 'trades not found in Cairo though common in other Ottoman towns'. Certain crafts were not represented in the Egyptian metropolis because the latter was a commercial hub, so that the goods at issue could be easily brought in from elsewhere. But in some cases, the traveller highlighted ways of making a living that were not quite respectable; perhaps he felt that certain activities that existed – and exist – in any large city were off-limits when describing the capital of the sultans, but made a good story when recounting 'exotic' Cairo.

Chapter 5, the last one in this section, includes both elite and non-elite travellers, dealing with Ottomans visiting Venice, and the descriptions of Venetian territory that they have left. However, by 'descriptions' we do not mean accounts of the lagoon, the numerous

domed churches, or the Palace of the Doge. Rather, most of the surviving accounts deal with robberies committed against Ottoman merchants on the Adriatic, which both the Sultan and the *Serenissima* regarded as a site under the control of Venice, so that it fell to the Venetian authorities to protect Ottoman travellers. Therefore the complaints evoke the landing stages on the Dalmatian coast where the merchants boarded ship, the Uskok attacks that often took place shortly after leaving port, and quite frequently the complicity of the Venetian captains whose job it was to protect the Ottoman traders. All these accounts refer to the space of Venice on a highly abstract level; only an enigmatic diplomat/spy, Ottoman or perhaps Turkophone subject, had a few polite words to say on the beauties of the city. Our second section, dedicated to non-elite travellers, begins with an ambiguous case as both elite and non-elite figures undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. Often these people tried to limit their travelling expenses by bringing a few items from their home provinces for sale and taking back small quantities of goods, some as presents and others to sell in the markets of their home towns. Evliya Çelebi has given a detailed description of the buying and selling that went on in Mecca during the pilgrimage season. Presumably rented out by the owners for the duration, the entrances of ordinary houses were in use for this purpose; moreover, after completion of the pilgrimage rites, the Şerifs of Mecca, who governed the region as dependent princes under the Sultan, sponsored a fair which in the late 1600s was popular among the wealthier traders. Research on Damascus around 1700 has shown that the trade associated with the pilgrimage caravan was less important than appears from Evliya's story and also from the remarks of European visitors who saw the caravans set out from Cairo or Damascus.[26] Of course travellers are given to exaggeration, but it is also possible that Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pascual deal with a period of impoverishment, when the long Ottoman–Habsburg war of 1683–99 had diminished spending power. Increasing banditry on the desert routes must have further discouraged trade, and in that case, Evliya's colourful description may be vindicated after all.

Seventeenth-century Mecca was a pilgrimage centre that had acquired a subsidiary – and temporary – role as a trade hub. By contrast Chapter 7 focuses on a city that was a permanent centre of commerce and industry; and even more than is usual in such cases, Bursa depended on the activity of travelling. Camel-drivers, merchants, seamen and probably carters or muleteers all were indispensable for the city's prosperity. After all, local weavers manufactured silk cloths, and before about 1600 most if not all of the raw silk required came from distant Iran. When wars interrupted the supply, many manufacturers went out of business. Moreover, even

when Bursa began cultivating its own raw silk in the 1600s, links with the outside world remained important, as in the mid-eighteenth century the emergent silk industry of Chios used raw material from the Bursa region. Most importantly, the finished silks and cottons went to other places, especially to Istanbul; obviously this was not possible unless people accompanied these goods. Thus the long history of the city as a textile producer was intimately connected to the peregrinations of merchants and also sometimes of artisans in the silk trade, so that this study fits nicely into a section named 'people and products on the move'.

Chapters 8 and 9 are both concerned with mid-sixteenth-century Üsküdar, continuing the work that Yvonne Seng has done on the 1520s and 1530s.[27] In Chapter 8 the focus is on Üsküdar as a place that people passed through, usually on their way to *intra-muros* Istanbul, but sometimes in the opposite direction as well. Although the administration tried to prevent certain crossings of the Bosporus that its officials defined as illegal, we do not know by what criteria movement across the sea was in fact widespread. Sometimes passengers who had entrusted their persons and valuables to a boatman in league with robbers might experience highly disagreeable surprises.

Chapter 9 deals particularly with fugitive slaves, or people whom the locals considered as such: a certain qadi register containing an especially large collection of documents concerning these unfortunates also records a few cases in which a man was arrested as an escaped slave but able to prove his free status. While Seng has focused on the ultimate integration of slaves and freedmen into Üsküdar society, which was in fact a widespread phenomenon, the present chapter emphasizes the trials and tribulations that these people experienced before and while they became part of Ottoman society. Integration and terror were, so to say, the obverse and reverse of the same coin.

As for Chapter 10, it deals with eighteenth-century immigration into Istanbul from Tunis, a remote and but indirectly controlled province. From the late 1500s onward, the Ottoman administration had from time to time voiced concern that too many people were crowding into the capital, straining the food and water supply and liable to commit crimes. However, in the 1700s this question turned into a veritable *idée fixe*, and bona fide inhabitants who left for a few weeks or months might have all the trouble in the world when trying to return home. At the same time, given frequent epidemics, of plague and other diseases, the city should have shrunk quite substantially had immigration really become impossible. Illegal migrants doubtless were many; but the present chapter discusses how migrants could be legally admitted. The sellers of fezzes, who were all Tunisians, had organized

in one or two guilds, depending on the micro-politics of the moment; if they fell foul of the guild wardens the latter could have the salesmen sent home. Presumably the Tunisians also mutually guaranteed that each and every one of them would appear in court if necessary, although the surviving documents do not spell this out. Thus immigrants were tolerated if they provided goods, like the Tunisian fezzes, that were not available from local sources, and if they formed an organization through which the authorities could identify them. Given this situation, guild wardens were in a position of power; and the surviving texts indicate that they might well abuse it.

Chapter 11 studies a campaign to repair the fortress of Hotin, which around 1700 had been held by the princely governors of Moldavia, but had recently reverted to direct sultanic control. On this occasion the Ottoman authorities decided to have the fortress restored, and for that purpose several hundreds of often very young men were put on ships and sent off to this remote place. Officials tried to keep track of the draftees by listing their physical characteristics, although the descriptions were so vague that they were probably of limited practical use. But it is through these records that we learn that a large proportion of these men were too young to be qualified masters, and moreover that among them the share of Christian Albanians was substantial. It also emerges that the authorities did not take the religious prerogatives of the Muslim Albanians very seriously; for the latter did not precede the non-Muslims, as was otherwise standard bureaucratic etiquette. Perhaps drafting construction workers for a remote fortress was a convenient excuse for ridding the capital of 'undesirables'?

After a chapter dealing with what we may call 'one-way tickets' to a distant province, the following text (Chapter 12) starts out from the assumption that even when staying within Istanbul, people walked or travelled by boat over fairly long distances. After all, with today's transportation it will take an hour or two, depending on traffic congestion, to get from the eastern limits of Üsküdar, as it was before 1800, to Eyüp, situated to the north-west of the walled city on the shore of the Golden Horn; evidently travelling time was much longer in the eighteenth century. When in the mid-1700s the nearly 100 halva manufacturers of Istanbul agreed on specific locations where they were going to sell this sweetmeat, they seem to have traversed the capital along routes that presumably were used by other people as well. Halva was a minor luxury and thus not purchased every day: therefore it made sense for the manufacturers to set up shop in places with a lot of through traffic.

Whatever the distances, movement within greater Istanbul was limited in scope, and thus Chapter 12 forms the beginning of the last

section, dealing with people who by choice or *force majeure* had to stay put. Even so, mini-movements were not lacking. In Chapter 13, I will deal with the eighteenth-century tendency to 'fix' the locations where the members of a given craft might set up shop, in other words the guildsmen themselves or the administration, or even both groups acting together, attempted to limit artisan mobility. The campaign to achieve this aim, duly recorded in the qadi registers, probably meant that the artisans or shopkeepers at issue now held *gedik*s, located near this or that city gate or else in a specified urban quarter.

Istanbul had a very large 'business district' where sultans, their mothers and their viziers, and less well-known investors too, constructed a large number of business-related structures (*han*s). Furthermore, there was the ancient Kapalıçarşı district that over time agglomerated around the two covered markets established by Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1451–81). However, shopkeepers selling everyday necessities presumably wanted to be closer to their customers, especially as the latter, often quite poor, might shy away from the areas where the city's rich trades were concentrated. The sellers of cheap textiles are a fine example of proliferation throughout Galata and the walled city of Istanbul proper; remarkably, shops assigned to one type of goods might over time invade a domain originally held by other craft specialties. In all probability even the 'fixing' of trades undertaken with such fanfare during the 1720s and 1730s did not in the long run prevent the mobility of shopkeepers on the lookout for more advantageous business sites.

After these micro-studies, the last chapter (Chapter 14) turns to a broader horizon. While most of the texts in this volume involve the close reading and detailed interpretation of primary sources, in this instance the focus is on the work that colleagues, mostly of a younger generation, recently have undertaken. Their work shows how the *idée fixe* of the earlier 1700s, namely that Istanbul was overpopulated and unmanageable, in the reign of Selim III (r. 1789–1807) resulted in systematic attempts to record the denizens of the Ottoman capital and their sources of income.[28] The principal aim of this measure was to expel people whom officialdom described as surplus to the needs of the city. Decreasing the number of consumers must have made sense to the Sultan and his advisors at a time when wars often interrupted the grain supply; these members of the elite probably also wanted to get rid of potential opponents to Sultan Selim's project of phasing out the janissaries in favour of a new model army (Nizam-ı cedid). However, controls and expulsions disrupted the already quite precarious livelihoods of many people; and low real wages that showed no sign of improvement, as well as blatant corruption among certain members of the government, must have further increased

dissatisfaction.

Thus, the attempts of the government to control movement and migration to and from Istanbul backfired quite badly, all the more as the Sultan proved unable to assure a specific type of movement, namely the arrival of sufficient grain. As a witness to this claim, we may mention the savage joy with which the contemporary chronicler Ebubekir described the 'vengeance killings' of high officials after Sultan Selim had been deposed in the uprising of 1807.[29] In a backhanded way, this outcome may also serve as a justification for the emphasis which the present collection has placed on people and their products 'on the move'; for it was trouble in this sector, in other words the transportation of grain over long distances, which substantially contributed to the fall of the monarch and his advisors. Hopefully the connections between the worries of making ends meet, commerce, and migration to the capital will continue to interest many historians in years to come.

Elite Travellers

CHAPTER 1

What an Ottoman ambassador might find out in Vienna

In the present chapter, we will be dealing with the concerns of the Ottoman Empire and its Habsburg counterpart, as they confronted one another over a shifting border. In the seventeenth century, just before the period discussed here, Hungary had been a major venue for the power struggles of the two parties; until the war of 1683–99, which had begun with the second siege of Vienna in 1683, Hungarian territories had been largely an Ottoman province, while a small strip of land, which was, however, home to a sizeable population, was in the hands of the Habsburg emperors. As for Transylvania, which also had formed part of the medieval Hungarian kingdom, in the 1600s it was an autonomous principality that normally recognized the Ottoman sultan as its suzerain, although the local princes occasionally sided with the Habsburgs when imperial troops were in the vicinity. With the peace of Karlofça/Karlowitz (1699), both Ottoman Hungary and Transylvania passed into Habsburg hands. However, the dynasty's commitment to Catholicism and even a latter-day version of the Counter-Reformation did nothing to endear it to its new subjects, particularly the Orthodox Serbs who had migrated from Ottoman to imperial territories during the war and settled as peasant-soldiers along the frontier.[1] Many Hungarian noblemen also were not too enthusiastic about Habsburg absolutism and as a result might show a degree of sympathy to the Ottoman ambassadors they encountered in Vienna, as we shall see.

A new kind of diplomatic history and its late arrival in the Habsburg–Ottoman borderlands

During the last few decades, the history of international relations has changed focus. For quite some time now there has been a concern to find out more about the persons and organizations that – by the

standards of the relevant polity, legitimately or not – were involved in shaping foreign policy. More recently there has emerged a novel interest in not exclusively discussing the moves made by the government of a single polity, but incorporating the perspectives of two or more such entities into one and the same study. In the case to be treated here, such a proceeding involves alternating between discussions of the Ottoman and Habsburg points of view. Historians also try to gain a better understanding of borders and borderlands, both in the physical and the metaphorical sense of the term. In the instance to be discussed here the Ottoman province of Budin/Buda in Hungary, for example, or the principality of Transylvania are prime examples of borderlands in the physical sense, while a former Habsburg subject turned interpreter of the sultan may be regarded as living in a metaphorical borderland, at least during certain periods of his life. Whenever appropriate, the study of international relations in the new mode also includes the study of persons acting as mediators between the polities in question: thus the interpreter just introduced, if given a certain amount of latitude in negotiating a truce, may well have functioned as a mediator of this kind.

Even so, it is not easy to embark upon a 'new-style' investigation of the relationship between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. For studies focusing on the 'dual perspectives' of the sultans and emperors, the extent and character of the physical and mental 'borderlands' between the two societies, as well as the activities of mediators, are as yet few and far between.[2] Most studies dealing with the relevant topics still are based exclusively on Habsburg and/or Hungarian sources. Even the two major English-language monographs on the 1683 siege of Vienna use Ottoman sources only insofar as they have been translated, or even avoid them altogether.[3] Apart from the important contributions of a few Austrian and Hungarian Ottomanists, historians of early modern Europe, in other words the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, for a long time seem to have thought that they did not need to use Ottoman sources. Presumably this lack of interest was due to the example of the historians of the infamous 'Oriental question' of the nineteenth century, who also had worked on European sources exclusively; scholars focusing on the early modern period merely followed the path trodden by their predecessors.[4]

Certainly there are reasons for this lack of comprehension, which in spite of promising beginnings will take a lot of time and intellectual effort to eradicate. For it was only in the late seventeenth century that the sultans sent officials to Vienna or St Petersburg who quite officially had the brief to represent the Ottoman rulers and negotiate about war, truce, or peace treaties. In previous years, often sultans and grand viziers had sent office-holders of fairly modest rank, who

only were to hand over a document issued by the sultan's chancery. For at that time in Istanbul it was the dominant assumption that the Sultan commanded: he did not negotiate, and other rulers, especially 'unbelievers', would be wise to accept his commands without too many tergiversations.

Of course in practice negotiations were necessary, but they were reflected not so much in documents emitted in the name of the sultan but rather in letters issued by the grand vizier, which had a less official character. Upon certain occasions, Ottoman envoys might at least unofficially function as negotiators.[5] But most of whatever debate did occur was the responsibility of the Habsburg ambassadors, who from the mid-1500s onward appeared in Istanbul with some regularity and resided in the so-called Elçi Hanı, a large structure opening onto an interior courtyard and located close to the Grand Bazaar.[6] The best-known Habsburg ambassador to spend time in this building was doubtless Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–92), sent to the court of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66) by Ferdinand I (1503–64), brother and successor to Charles V (1500–58).[7] Busbecq's letters became popular in all of Europe due to their elegant Latin. Later ambassadors also often left both texts and images as testimonies to their stays in the Ottoman capital; but their reports usually were the work of secretaries or spiritual advisors.[8] As the work of Busbecq and to a lesser extent that of Salomon Schweigger became quite well known, historians working on Habsburg diplomatic activity may have thought that they possessed sufficient information, and for a long time felt little motivation to hunt for the reports of Ottoman envoys.

However, preconceived notions also had a role to play. In the early 1980s the influential historian Bernard Lewis, on the basis of an Austrian source, had claimed that before the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon (1798–1801) Ottoman dignitaries had only shown an interest in European politics if the matter at issue concerned them directly. If this statement had been totally true, it would in fact have been meaningless to study Ottoman views on the Habsburg Empire. Recent research has shown though, that we need to allow for significant exceptions to this blanket statement.[9] Fatih Yeşil's work on the reports of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, who visited Vienna in the earlier 1790s, well before Napoleon's attack, has made this point abundantly clear; especially in his as yet unpublished dispatches this diplomat relayed quite a bit of information on the political situation in Vienna. But even the older reports that will be the principal focus of the present study show that at least certain eighteenth-century Ottoman observers of the Habsburg lands were more interested in European politics than had been assumed to date.

In this chapter we will discuss a very specific problem, namely the transmission of political information concerning the overall situation in Europe from Vienna or else Hungary to Istanbul. We will also try to identify the impediments and limitations which quite often made it all but impossible for Ottoman envoys to acquire reliable information. For a historian approaching Ottomans and Habsburgs with the intention of writing a 'new-style' history of international relations, this political information would only be part of the question, as such a study would focus more broadly on the people, material goods and practices crossing the borders between the two empires. In a study adopting this broader perspective, the historian might discuss printing in Arabic characters, for in the early eighteenth century it was a refugee from Transylvania, recently occupied by the Habsburgs, the entrepreneur and scholar İbrahim Müteferrika, who first established this practice in Istanbul. As another aspect of cultural transfer, we might point to the Ottoman rugs and carpets that entered Transylvania from the sixteenth century onward and that during the 1700s often were donated to local churches.[10] But these questions cannot be covered in a brief chapter and therefore we will limit our perspective to politics in the conventional sense of the term.

In addition we need to explain what is meant by the 'long eighteenth century'. In the present author's view it makes sense to begin this period with the Ottoman–Habsburg war of 1683–99, which opened with the almost-successful second siege of Vienna. Certainly after the battle of St Gotthard-an-der-Raab, Kara Mehmed Paşa had visited the Habsburg capital as an ambassador to confirm the peace of Vasvar (1665); and his report survives. But if we compare this text with the work of the Ottoman ambassadors appointed to Vienna after 1700, it turns out that Mehmed Paşa has little to say about European politics; by contrast it was his main aim to demonstrate that he had upheld the prestige of his sovereign under all circumstances, a concern that he shared with the authors of many early modern ambassadorial reports from all over the world.[11]

However, Zülfikâr Paşa, who had the unenviable task of exploring possibilities for peace right in the middle of the war over Hungary (1683–99), by virtue of his brief needed to collect information on the political and military problems confronting the Habsburgs; and his report does contain some worthwhile information.[12] Once peace had been concluded in 1699, there began an era of ad hoc embassies, documented by written reports which contained as much political information as the relevant ambassador was able to collect. We will end the 'long eighteenth century' with the report of Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, who experienced the early phases of the French Revolution while in Vienna (1792); as this diplomat was very much interested in

political information, his embassy will form a major focus of the present discussion.

After all, Ebubekir Ratib's embassy was a latter-day example of the ad hoc missions that had characterized the 1700s, for it was Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807), the very ruler who had sent out this ambassador, who in his last years experimented with long-term embassies to Vienna and elsewhere; and under his nineteenth-century successors this practice became normal. However, one could also claim that the real end of the 'long eighteenth century' only occurred in the 1830s and 1840s, when the Ottomans began to send as ambassadors people specifically trained for their mission in the 'Translation Chamber' (*tercüme odası*) in Istanbul and/or as undersecretaries in the Ottoman embassy in Paris. But for our purposes, the 'long eighteenth century' will be long only because it encompasses people who reported on Vienna well before 1700 and will end, quite conventionally, around 1800.

During the last few years, Turkish colleagues have shown an increasing interest in the relations of the Ottoman world with Latinate Europe during the early modern period. Presumably this new focus has some connection to debates about Turkey's possible entry into the European Community which have been taking place in the recent past. Until the 1990s, topics of Ottoman–Venetian or Ottoman–Habsburg interaction used to interest only European and American historians, but presently a number of Turkish colleagues also are conversant with the relevant languages and able to deal with primary sources written in Latin, Byzantine Greek, Spanish, German and other languages.[13] Typically in these studies, political and military confrontations feature less prominently than cultural interactions, including perceptions of alterity and more specifically the *Türkenfurcht* or 'fear of the Turks' that was a significant feature of popular culture in Central Europe during the early modern period. For many Turkish colleagues this inheritance is a major reason for the widespread rejection of Turkey's possible entry into the European Union, especially in Central Europe.[14] Given the broader, cultural orientation of these studies, we can hope that in the near future it will become much easier to study Ottoman–Habsburg relations within the broader perspectives that have come to characterize work on international relations in the 'new mode'.

Introducing the sources

Presumably because of this interest in cultural aspects, historians have but rarely asked how Ottoman diplomats viewed the foreign policies of the major European ministers and their cabinets.[15] As exceptions

we might mention the work of Fatih Yeşil and the admittedly rather short introduction by Ali İbrahim Savaş to his edition of the embassy report of Mustafa Hattî (1748). Furthermore, finding political information in eighteenth-century embassy reports is not always easy: Ottoman officials did not write systematic accounts of foreign courts that might have resembled for instance the Venetian *relazioni*. Rather, they tended to prefer the format of the travelogue, so that the relevant information is often found in unexpected places, namely when the author describes his encounter with this or that person transmitting information, be it true or false. Thus if no modern edition is available, historians have to search through manuscripts or older editions without indices, so that it is rather easy to miss relevant information.

Before the late 1600s the sultans' envoys apparently were debriefed orally after their return, and written reports were not customary. But after 1700 the situation changed and several authors, either ambassadors or their servitors, have left brief or else lengthy notes about their experiences abroad. Given long borders and frequent wars, there were numerous occasions requiring the presence of Ottoman ambassadors and their suites in Vienna, or else on the shores of the Danube, which in many places functioned as the border. However, it was often not easy for an Ottoman envoy to collect valid political information. For often enough Habsburg diplomats did everything in their power to make sure that their foreign colleagues did not form an accurate picture of the Emperor's situation. Disinformation was practised by Habsburg servitors, and the Ottoman envoys attempted to do the same whenever possible. However, the envoys of the sultans had to struggle with the lack of an established network through which information could be transmitted and verified. When all is said and done there were many denizens of Latinate Europe present in Istanbul, but very few Ottoman diplomats at European courts.

In addition there were 'natural' impediments, including the cold of the Little Ice Age (1300s to late 1800s) with its attendant ice, rain and mud. As a result, Ottoman diplomats might be reduced to basing their action – or inaction – upon rumours which might turn out to be true or false. Thus in the autumn of 1740 the Ottoman delegation determining the border that was to form part of the current peace agreement had heard that the emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40) had died in the meantime. But the officials had no way of knowing whether these rumours were true or false. Only when the Habsburg negotiator appeared with black ribbons attached to his clothing was the Ottoman envoy willing to send a messenger to Istanbul so to relay this crucial piece of news.[16]

Matters became yet more difficult because Ottoman envoys were not specialized diplomats, a category that only came into being in the

nineteenth century. People who had served in totally different fields before their embassies and who could count on having no further diplomatic employment once they had returned to Istanbul, did not have the experience needed to collect political information effectively; nor could they develop a motivation to specialize in this as yet little-known and low-prestige specialty. Often the ambassadors relied on their interpreters, who in the eighteenth century were virtually all Christians; only the Greek uprising in 1821 prompted the sultan to form the Translation Chamber to train young Muslims for this task. The interpreter accompanying an ambassador might well belong to the household of a powerful vizier or else maintain close relations with one or another European embassy. Thus there was no guarantee that the agenda of the interpreter would correspond to that of the ambassador. Yet even so, these men brought along from Istanbul were very helpful. For as the ambassador did not know any European languages, only his interpreters could inform him whether the translations made by their colleagues serving the Emperor were more or less accurate renditions of what had transpired. Quite often the opposite was true, either because of deficient linguistic competence or else for some political reason.

To follow up the efforts of eighteenth-century ambassadors searching for reliable political information, we need to analyze their reports. Remarkably many of these have survived in manuscript libraries and not in the Ottoman archives. In some instances files of archival documents do exist; yet they do not normally contain the final report, but deal with the details of the envoy's appointment and travels. For our present purposes, two such cases are of special relevance: firstly, Kemal Beydilli and İsmail Erünsal have produced an extremely careful account of the embassy of Seyfullah Ağa, who visited Vienna in 1711. The two editors have assembled and made accessible a large body of printed and manuscript sources deposited in Vienna and Istanbul, including the notes of the interpreter Schmidt, who had been detailed by the Habsburg authorities to accompany the ambassador.[17] In addition the historian can learn a great deal from the materials concerning the embassy of Mustafa Hattî (1748) that Ali İbrahim Savaş has published, these documents being a most welcome complement to the ambassador's own report.[18] While comparable records concerning Ebubekir Ratib Efendi remain unpublished, the work of Fatih Yeşil now has made the contents accessible to students and scholars.

It is difficult to figure out why so many ambassadors' reports seem to be missing from the archives. Perhaps the originals were placed not in the relatively well-catalogued state archives (Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul) but in the palace deposits (Topkapı Sarayı

Arşivi), and the latter have been but very partially catalogued. But it also possible that the original reports handed over to sultans and viziers are still in some as yet unexplored section of the central archives, for compared to the so-called classical age (1450–1600) or the period after 1850, the eighteenth century has low priority when it comes to cataloguing. Ottomanist historians working on the 1700s need to form a pressure group!

Soon after 1700 the Ottoman authorities were perfectly willing to allow selected chroniclers, officially appointed or not, to publish embassy reports that were no longer confidential. Thus the religious and juridical scholar Şem'dânîzâde Süleyman Efendi, who flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century and on his own initiative wrote a chronicle, made extensive use of the account of the ambassador Mustafa Hattî, whose work is also important for the present study.[19] Some reports also were distributed in the shape of short books.[20]

Certain texts have been attracting the interest of historians for a long time and have even been translated into European languages, an especially interesting example, somewhat early for our purposes, being the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi, who in 1665 accompanied the ambassador Kara Mehmed Paşa on his visit to Vienna.[21] In 2007 two Turkish scholars separately published the reports of the unfortunate Zülfikâr Paşa, delegated to Vienna between 1688 and 1692 as an ambassador of middle rank (*orta elçi*, corresponding to the *Internuntius* of the Habsburg categorization); most of the time the unlucky envoy lived the life of a virtual prisoner.[22] We have already had occasion to discuss the publication of Seyfullah Ağa's account, dated to 1711. In 1740 the peace of Belgrade involved a redrawing of the Ottoman–Habsburg frontier, and the fortress and town of Belgrade, present-day capital of Serbia, which in 1718 had been lost to the Habsburgs, returned to the Sultan's dominions.

Ebu Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi has covered these momentous events: his report is available in print, both in the Ottoman original and in a German translation.[23] Later in the century Ahmed Resmî, known for his numerous writings on Ottoman history and politics, produced an account of his embassy to Vienna. Certainly in this work he has less to say about European politics than in his later report on his embassy to Berlin and the Prussian court; Bedriye Atsız has translated these two pieces from Ottoman into modern Turkish.[24] At the very end of our period, there are the various reports by Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, whom we have already encountered. For a time this author was an advisor to Sultan Selim III, who had asked for a detailed discussion of the political and military issues relevant to the Habsburgs. Probably because of its remarkable length, the most extensive of Ebubekir

Ratib's accounts remains unpublished; however, a shorter report is available in print.[25]

As a working hypothesis we may assume that around the middle of the seventeenth century, Ottoman officials may have had to reorganize their 'information services'. Earlier on, Ottoman viziers and bureaucrats at the centre probably had received a good deal of information on European politics from the Venetian secret service, which was remarkably active in Istanbul as well.[26] Nothing is ever certain when secret services are involved, but it is quite possible that sultans and viziers tolerated the activities of the Venetian spying apparatus because the information derived from this source was valuable enough to justify a few concessions: occasionally Venetian agents were even able to murder enemies of the Signoria on Ottoman territory without major repercussions. However, once the sultans had begun to conquer Crete in 1645 this source of information was no longer available; and when the war ended almost a quarter of a century later, in 1669, the Venetian presence in the Ottoman Empire had been greatly weakened, and the old information networks proved impossible to restore.

Thus quite possibly the strange behaviour of Kara Mustafa Paşa in September 1683 can be explained by lack of information. Although his final attack on Vienna was imminent, the grand vizier had done nothing to prevent the approach of the army of King Jan Sobieski of Poland, an intervention which ultimately had caused the siege to fail. The reason may well have been that the grand vizier only found out at a rather late stage of the game that Sobieski, originally sponsored by Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715) in his candidacy for the Polish throne, had changed sides and brought together a large army for the relief of the Habsburg capital.

Zülfikâr Paşa on the Habsburgs' difficulties in the West

Perhaps the new Ottoman policy of demanding written reports from the sultans' returning ambassadors was designed to help close this 'information gap'. But, as previously noted, envoys also wrote their reports in order to justify their own activities, and thus they must have often struggled to do justice to these two aims simultaneously, which were not necessarily compatible. Zülfikâr Paşa, with whose work we will begin our analysis, was in a particularly difficult situation. After all, while it had been his mission to find a way of ending the war, he had singularly failed to do so. Nor could he write about an honourable reception in Vienna; in more peaceable times, the relevant ceremonies were a favourite subject, because the respect shown to the ambassador signified the high esteem which the sultan

enjoyed at the Habsburg court.

By contrast Zülfikâr Paşa could only complain about his various sufferings: shabby treatment, supplies remaining undelivered, and minimal freedom of movement in the small places where the ambassador was kept endlessly waiting. All these miseries alternated with periods during which he was treated as a veritable prisoner. Perhaps in repeatedly reporting these egregious indignities, Zülfikâr Paşa meant to make it clear that the Habsburg side was simply not interested in peace, so that he was not responsible for the failure of his mission. Perhaps to prove his point, the pasha included a veritable archive: there were copies of his own letters to Count Caraffa and also the responses that this imperial dignitary had sent to the ambassador.[27]

As every Europeanist is well aware, by the late 1600s the Habsburgs had to deal with opponents on their western and their eastern fronts: Louis XIV was in the process of completing the conquest of Alsace, while the emperor and the German princes were fighting the Ottomans in Hungary. The sultans' diplomats knew about this situation before starting out from Istanbul, for the French ambassadors, very present in the Ottoman capital for over a century, made sure that the monarch and his viziers heard about French successes on the Rhine front. Certainly, once on Habsburg territory Zülfikâr Paşa received no further information from France; but he still accessed sources, which unfortunately he does not name, capable of providing him with details of military movements on the western bank of the Rhine. Thus on 15 Muharrem 1101/30 October 1689 the ambassador penned a note about the war in the Palatinate (1688–97) whose beginning coincided with his own stay on Habsburg territory. Zülfikâr Paşa mentioned that the French had taken Moğonce/Mayence/Mainz on 19 October 1688 and was conscious of the heavy losses that Habsburg armies had suffered during the re-conquest of this town on 10 September 1689. In this context Zülfikâr Paşa pointed out that certain sources from the Habsburg side had confirmed the devastation of the Palatinate.[28] The ambassador had also learned that an alliance had been formed against the King of France, which apart from the Emperor included the German princes, and the kings of Spain and the Netherlands; Zülfikâr Paşa only omitted the Duke of Savoy, who also had become a member of this alliance.[29] Perhaps due to the participation of the Netherlands in the war against the French King, the ambassador did not trust the mediation offered by a Dutch diplomat, although he did not reject the support offered by the latter.[30]

Zülfikâr Paşa also had learned that the Pope (Innocent XI, Pope 1676–89) had died and that his successor Alexander VIII, Pope from

1689 to 1691, had been a Venetian cardinal before his election. At the time of writing this was 'hot' news, as Alexander had only become Pope on 6 October 1689. As a conscientious reporter the pasha also identified those issues on which he did not have any useful information: thus he was unable to report on the fighting on the Dutch and Spanish fronts.[31]

Before the battle on the Prut

As Beydilli and Erünsal have pointed out in their introduction to the account of Seyfullah Ağa, this enterprise was somewhat different from earlier Ottoman embassies. After the loss of Hungary to the emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), supported by his Polish, German, Venetian and Russian allies, the Ottoman sultans and their viziers definitely wanted to avoid another war on several fronts. In the long run, they also hoped to use the tensions between the princes of Latinate Christendom for the retrieval of the lost provinces, and in 1715 they did in fact recuperate the Peloponnesus, and in 1740, Belgrade.[32] Therefore the grand viziers of the 1700s were more concerned about changes in the system of alliances among European princes than their predecessors had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[33]

In the 1400s or 1500s, the opponents of the Sultan among the princes of Latinate Christendom had usually suffered from the disadvantage that they could only fight the Ottoman armies if they formed alliances; however, because of the divergent political concerns of the participants, the latter usually dissolved within a short period. By contrast, the Sultan sometimes could do without allies altogether; or else he only mobilized vassal rulers like the Khan of the Tatars or the princes (in Ottoman: *voyvodas*) of Moldavia and Walachia.

But the 'Holy Alliance' of the late seventeenth century had survived long enough to inflict serious territorial losses upon the sultans, an unprecedented event in Ottoman history. Given this situation, when Seyfullah Ağa appeared in Vienna, it was his brief to convince Prince Eugene of Savoy, who as the president of the Aulic War Council was the major decision-maker when it came to war and peace, that the Sultan in his planned campaign against Tsar Peter I of Russia (r. 1682–1725) was not planning any move against the Habsburgs. In particular the Ottoman monarch and his viziers denied that they had any intention of getting involved in the conflicts surrounding the Polish throne, at that time an object of dispute between Augustus of Saxony and Stanisław Leszczyński (1677–1766), King of Poland 1733–6 and father-in-law to Louis XV of France. According to Seyfullah Ağa the sultan favoured maintaining the status quo: the war against Russia was to be purely defensive and the Ottomans had no interest in

territorial gains at the expense of Poland.[34]

When questioned, Seyfullah Ağa declared that an – in his opinion – dubious source had reported a vague tale concerning an attacking force of Ottoman soldiers and Tatar horsemen that had left Belgrade and crossed the Polish border. But in the meantime, Prince Eugene of Savoy had better information at his disposal and knew for a fact that this attack had taken place. However, the ambassador assured his interlocutors that this event should not endanger peaceful relations between the Ottomans and Habsburgs.

As the Emperor Joseph I (r. 1705–11) died while Seyfullah Ağa was still in Vienna, last-minute negotiations ensured that the peace treaty would remain valid under his successor as well. On behalf of the Regent and Dowager Empress Eleonora, Leopold Graf von Herberstein took charge of the negotiations, as due to the ongoing military confrontation, Prince Eugene of Savoy preferred to remain with the army. At this point nobody as yet knew that by 1715, the Ottomans and Habsburgs would once again be at war.

Seyfullah Ağa's report might have discussed the long-term aspects of the conflict between the Habsburgs and Louis XIV, especially since the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) was still continuing at the time of his visit. The precarious position of the – elective – crown of Poland also was a matter close to Ottoman concerns, as visible from Seyfullah's discussion with the Prince of Savoy. However, the surviving report, remarkable for being composed not in 'high Ottoman' but in everyday Turkish, did not deal with these broader issues at all. On the contrary, Seyfullah Ağa assured his readers that far from discussing European politics, in his encounters with Prince Eugene he remained diplomatically silent on all matters not directly connected to his mission. As a result he presumably was unable to collect a great deal of information on the broader European context; or if he did, he preferred to not share his observations with his superiors in writing. The only times Seyfullah Ağa claimed to have spoken on matters not immediately connected with his official brief was when he praised the military skills of Ottoman soldiers, including the pioneers and their talent for bridge construction: Seyfullah reported that the Prince had agreed with him on this matter.[35]

Given this situation, Eugene of Savoy, busy with preparations for his departure for the front, might well have shown but limited interest in Seyfullah Ağa's mission. However, this was not the case: although in his second meeting with the Prince, the ambassador had declared that since he had now delivered the letter of the Grand Vizier, he regarded his mission as completed, Eugene organized a further meeting, with only a few participants attending. In addition to the ambassador and the Prince, only two high-level dignitaries and an interpreter were

present. When Eugene pointed out that the emperor continued in his concern for the welfare of his allies Poland and Venice, Seyfullah Ağa refrained from comment; but evidently both sides agreed in mistrusting the intentions of the Tsar. Presumably, before leaving for the front, Eugene wanted to find out whether Seyfullah Ağa had instructions to relay orally concerns not mentioned in the vizier's letter; but apparently there were none.[36] The prince also asked whether the Sultan and Grand Vizier might be interested in the mediation of a European power in the impending conflict; Seyfullah Ağa responded with a diplomatic silence.

When reporting on his encounters with Eugene, Count Herberstein and other dignitaries, Seyfullah Ağa always employed polite language: he felt that this was the correct way to respond to the invariably polite treatment that he had experienced. On the other hand, in his discussions with an envoy of Augustus of Saxony the ambassador did not hesitate to use rather vulgar expressions, as he felt that this person was devoid of even the rudiments of polite behaviour. Seyfullah Ağa's overall comment is instructive: 'These are the enemies of the faith, their inner [intentions] are obvious. But in outward appearance they showed a great deal of friendliness, good faith and sympathy. Within the possibilities available to us, we also have conducted our negotiations in the spirit of friendliness and sympathy. Praise to God All-high! None [of the participants in the discussions] has used demeaning language; and we have parted on friendly terms.'[37]

On the Danube border

But now we will leave aside the politeness of high-level dignitaries and confront the nitty-gritty of life on the Habsburg–Ottoman border, for Ebû Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi (died after 1754) has left some priceless observations on this matter. As previously noted, Nuʿmân Efendi was involved in the 1740 redrawing of the Ottoman–Habsburg border, when the sultans not only recovered Belgrade, but the entire province of Serbia in addition to Lesser Walachia and the fortress of Orşova. Nuʿmân Efendi had trained as a scholar of law and Islamic divinity; the latest item of information available on this author, who had been born in the Anatolian small town of Eğin (today: Kemaliye) concerned his tenure as a qadi (1754–55) in Manisa, today an important medium-level city in western Turkey.[38]

In his capacity as a jurist and scholar of Islamic divinity, it was Nuʿmân Efendi's job to produce a document valid according to Islamic law, known as *hüccet*, that specified the course of the border which the two parties had agreed upon after a great deal of haggling. Informally Nuʿmân Efendi also acted as advisor to the head of the

mission, Mevkufâtî Mehmed, who a few years later became Grand Vizier. However, the relationship between the two men was probably anything but amicable: Nuʿmân Efendi, inventive, imaginative and self-assured in his report, did not mince words when it came to criticizing the deficiencies of his boss. Apparently the author made serious efforts to find out something about the political context in which his mission needed to operate, but as we will see, he was not particularly successful.

Nuʿmân Efendi has produced a relatively detailed account of the constraints which caused the emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40), and later the latter's daughter Maria Theresa (r. 1740–80), to conclude the peace of Belgrade, in spite of many disadvantages to the Habsburg side. But once we take a closer look it is obvious that many bits of information related by Nuʿmân Efendi must be taken with more than just a grain of salt. Thus he claims that there had been a personal encounter between the Pope and the Emperor, in which the former had advised the inclusion of some conditions that would turn out to be difficult to fulfil, so that the Emperor would have a pretext to break the peace whenever he wished to do so. It seems more likely that such a tactic, if in fact adopted, had been devised by officials in Vienna. But it would be of interest to find out on what basis Nuʿmân Efendi had arrived at his conclusions.[39]

The author also assumed that King Frederick II of Prussia (1712–86) based his claims on Silesia upon a loan from the principality of Brandenburg that the emperor had never repaid. Visibly the author knew nothing of the contorted history of a small Silesian territory known as the Schwiebuser Kreis; and probably his information came from people who had no information on this issue either. Furthermore the disputes surrounding the Pragmatic Sanction (1713), regarding the succession of Maria Theresa to her father's inheritance, in Nuʿmân Efendi's account were of only marginal importance, namely when the author relayed the argument of Frederick II by which he defended his occupation of Silesia: as a woman could not be Emperor, the King of Prussia wanted to conquer Vienna and become emperor himself. Nuʿmân Efendi also believed that Frederick had offered his support in case Maria Theresa was attacked by the Sultan.

Perhaps Nuʿmân Efendi engaged in speculation of this kind because a Habsburg representative, whose name he does not mention, recently had returned from Istanbul with a draft agreement issued by Mehmed Ragip, head of the Ottoman chancery.[40] According to this text, most of the Danube islands and the fortress of Orşova were to go to the Habsburg Empire. However, as noted, the fortress ended up as an Ottoman possession.[41] As far as Nuʿmân Efendi knew, something was happening that might turn out to be important, but he was not able to

find out what it was. Frustration mounted when the author and his working party received news that a firm date had been set by which the border negotiations needed to be completed, for as a result the Ottoman side lost much of its room for manoeuvre.

Frederick II entered Silesia in force on 16 December 1740. When the news arrived, the Ottoman and Habsburg delegations had just completed their work. Evidently the report on this attack was not accompanied by novel 'background information', as the author continued to dwell on the story of the loan to Charles VI, which had supposedly occasioned Frederick's aggression. But whatever the background, the diplomatic consequences were obvious, as Maria Theresa hurriedly confirmed the treaty concluded by her deceased father. As for Nuʿmân Efendi, he probably was of two minds, for he had supposedly predicted the death of the emperor and hoped that a continuation of the war would result in further conquests. On the other hand, in the recent past the author had spent several most uncomfortable weeks and months determining the new frontier, surmounting any number of impediments and devising a fair number of stratagems. Quite probably Nuʿmân Efendi did not welcome the prospect of having to start all over again.

Whatever the truth of the matter, he soon found out that the Austrian generals Neipperg and Wallis had suffered defeat at Frederick's hands.[42] Thereupon, Nuʿmân Efendi suggested that the delegation leave Habsburg territory as soon as possible. For if the Prussians were to take Vienna, the peace was no longer valid, and under these circumstances it was highly undesirable to be confined in enemy territory. Thus Nuʿmân Efendi's 'background information' was quite often erroneous, but he was right about a crucial point: for Maria Theresa it was essential to be at peace with the Sultan, and thus for the Ottomans her political moves had come to be predictable. On the other hand, Frederick's intentions remained unknown, and as a result, any amount of speculation was possible.

Diplomatic honours: Mustafa Hattî in Vienna

Zülfikâr Paşa and Nuʿmân Efendi wrote their reports when first the Ottomans and then the Habsburgs were in a most critical situation. By contrast, when Mustafa Hattî visited Vienna eight years later, the situation was more relaxed. For in 1748 the issue was merely the confirmation of the peace of Belgrade (1740), which was now to include Maria Theresa's husband Francis Stephen of Lorraine (1708–65), turned Emperor Francis I and called Françesko in Mustafa Hattî's report: in the meantime, Francis had acceded to the imperial dignity through the good offices of his wife.

By sending this embassy, Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) and his viziers wished to demonstrate that in spite of the attempts of the French ambassador Michel-Ange de Castellane (1703–82, in Istanbul: 1741–7) to conclude an offensive alliance, the Ottoman government intended to remain at peace with the Habsburgs.

Given this situation, Mustafa Hattî, who before and after his role as *orta elçi* enjoyed a respectable but not spectacular career in the Ottoman central administration, had no trouble collecting information about Maria Theresa and her accession to the throne. At the beginning of his report he noted that the emperor Charles VI had died shortly after the Ottomans had regained Belgrade. As there were no male descendants, Charles' daughter Maria Theresa had inherited the throne; in this context, Mustafa Hattî calls her *Roma imparatoriçesi* (Roman empress).[43] The author also knew that the Bavarian elector (in Ottoman also: *elektor*) had invoked his marriage with a daughter of Joseph I (r. 1705–11) and with aid from the French king had come close to conquering the Habsburg lands. Only with the help of the Hungarians had Maria Theresa been able to avert this danger.

Mustafa Hattî was well aware that his rather magnificent reception in Vienna was mainly due to the threat that the policies of Louis XV of France (r. 1715–74) posed to the empire of the Habsburgs. But even so, he was pleased to report the honours granted to him. After all, the consideration that he enjoyed was also a sign of respect towards the sultan. Mustafa Hattî clearly had an eye for details: thus he noted at his farewell reception Maria Theresa wore a dress in which a silk fabric had been used that he had brought her from Istanbul.[44] He also noted that the honours accorded to him personally surpassed his expectations. While he was merely an *orta elçi*, he was given a golden chain, which was normally a privilege of an ambassador of the highest rank.[45]

Given the ceremonial character of his embassy, Mustafa Hattî did not have much opportunity to gather information about the domestic problems confronting Maria Theresa's government. However, he did note that the Serbs living in the borderlands near Zemun and Ösek had made use of the unsettled situation following the death of Charles VI, to ensure that they would only be commanded by men from their own community. Mustafa Hattî felt that these people were of so restless a disposition that it was very difficult to make them obey; Habsburg officials may well have agreed with him.[46]

As the Ottoman court and Mustafa Hattî knew very well, even after her marriage Maria Theresa remained a sovereign in her own right. Accordingly the ambassador brought separate letters for the two monarchs. Moreover, the official gifts, which he carefully listed in his report, were destined either for Francis Stephen or else for Maria

Theresa. The gifts to the Emperor included valuable horses with richly decorated horse-gear manufactured in Istanbul, of the kind that was highly esteemed at princely courts throughout contemporary Europe. Indian and Ottoman textiles formed part of the gift package as well, and so did eight carpets, some of Iranian and others of Ottoman manufacture. Maria Theresa also received textiles and four Ottoman carpets in addition to a valuable belt and an ornament for the head, but neither horses nor Persian carpets.[47] Unfortunately the ambassador did not mention the monetary value of these gifts; as a result we do not know whether the Ottoman court expressed the difference in rank between the two sovereigns through the prices of the presents offered.[48]

Mustafa Hattî first paid a visit to the Emperor and then attended the Empress, providing a fairly detailed description of the latter event. He even included an Ottoman translation of the text read by Maria Theresa on this occasion. Probably he felt that this event was 'newsworthy' because a female sovereign, and one who was active in public, would have been unthinkable in the Ottoman world of his time. In other contexts too the author paid special attention to Maria Theresa. He had been told that she was highly intelligent and well versed in government business; although at the time of Mustafa Hattî's visit the birth of her seventh child was imminent, she read all petitions in person.[49]

When the Ottoman ambassador visited Schönbrunn as an imperial guest, he received special greetings from the empress. Upon her orders the princes and princesses, who all were still quite young, were presented to him: the group included Joseph (later Joseph II, emperor from 1765 to 1790), Peter Leopold (Leopold II, r. 1790–92) and Charles Joseph as well as the princesses Maria Christine, Elisabeth and Maria Amalia. While Maria Theresa did not appear, the introductions were performed in her name. Presumably, by this ceremony, the Empress wished to inform the Ottoman court that given the presence of three sons, the future of the dynasty now was secure. Mustafa Hattî showed his appreciation of the Empress' maternal sentiments, for when he was asked which of the children he preferred, he diplomatically declared his inability to make such a choice.[50]

Presumably not only Maria Theresa and Francis Stephen but also the sultan wished to maintain peace at their common borders. After all, the Habsburg lands had just endured the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48). As for the sultans, in the mid-1700s they only engaged in relatively short and limited confrontations, so that their subjects could recover from the long wars of the previous decades (1683–99, 1715–18, 1739–40 and a war in Iran in 1723–30).[51] Given these common concerns Mustafa Hattî was well received at the Vienna

court; he showed his appreciation by relaying an image in which positive features predominated.

Ahmed Resmî: first attempts at a systematic evaluation

While Mustafa Hattî had shown literary talent and Nuʿmân Efendi was a scientist capable of building his own instruments, Ahmed Resmî (1700/01–83) from Rethymno/Crete was the first Ottoman envoy to visit Vienna who showed a strong intellectual interest in history and politics.[52] However, his embassy of 1757–8 to the Habsburg court, where he announced the accession of Mustafa III (r. 1757–74) to the Ottoman throne, was short and ceremonial in character, so that his political acumen was less obvious in this report than in his other works.

Ahmed Resmî was in Vienna during the Seven Years' War (1756–63) and noted the nervousness with which the local authorities envisaged a possible Prussian attack against the capital city. Similarly to Mustafa Hattî he was particularly interested in Maria Theresa, who not only had aged by ten years but also given birth to yet more children; Francis Stephen by contrast remained in the background. Ahmed Resmî felt that the empress was averse to war and only wished to govern her territories in peace and preserve them for her descendants. As an explanation, the author claimed that the Empress acted according to her 'nature': it is hard to say whether Ahmed Resmî was thinking of Maria Theresa's gender or of her concern for her numerous sons and daughters.[53] But perhaps the relative passivity that Ahmed Resmî attributed to the empress was really a consequence of the impression that he gained of the local nobility. For if the ambassador was correct in his assessment these people were not much interested in war and politics and preferred to enjoy the amenities of life.[54]

In the eyes of the Ottoman diplomat, the future of the Habsburg Empire was less than brilliant. First of all, resources were lacking, and the government could maintain its position only by demanding high taxes and controlling commerce, especially the trade in victuals. Maria Theresa appeared as a trader concerned about her profits; thus she had forbidden the sale of Hungarian grain in Vienna so as to hold up the price of that produced in Bohemia. Even so, the treasury was empty and the government survived by means of loans granted by dignitaries or by the Church. As a single positive feature the Ottoman diplomat noted that in spite of these problems, the country as a whole seemed reasonably prosperous; he thought that this state of affairs was due to the fact that officials administered the available revenues cautiously and honestly.

Ahmed Resmî and other Ottoman diplomats before and after him knew very well that in Hungary the Habsburgs were highly unpopular. Some Hungarian noblemen in their rebellions against the Emperor had even sought – and obtained – Ottoman support. Ahmed Resmî realized that some of this hostility was economically motivated: as Hungarian producers of grain could only sell in Hungary, they were frustrated, and in consequence quite interested in gaining access to Ottoman markets near the frontier.

While the author was cautious about voicing direct criticism, he felt that the pacific policies of Maria Theresa were problematic, as her opponent Frederick II was most aggressive when it came to expanding his power and territories. Referring to the theories of Ibn Khaldûn (1332–1406), he therefore concluded that the power of the Habsburgs was on the wane: the dissolution of their empire was a serious possibility.[55] After all, in such an eventuality the sultans could also have demanded their share of the spoils.

Ahmed Resmî has discussed these broader problems in the last and most interesting chapter of his work. Disregarding the travelogue format characteristic of eighteenth-century Ottoman embassy reports, he has attempted to provide a systematic overview of the political landscape of the mid-eighteenth-century Holy Roman Empire.[56] After introducing the Italian term *imperio* to denote this polity, he briefly refers to the electors (*elektor* or *elektör* according to the French pronunciation), emphasizing that these rulers have only limited obligations *vis à vis* the emperor. He does not relay much information on the three archbishoprics of Cologne, Mainz and Trier. Visibly the author is more interested in the secular principalities: first in line is Bohemia, where Maria Theresa is Queen Regnant. Ahmed Resmî then discusses Bavaria, which he regards as a kingdom, several decades before Napoleon actually made the former elector into a king. In this context the author briefly refers to the Wittelsbach prince Karl Albrecht, who with French support was briefly elected Emperor Charles VII, in office between 1742 and 1745.

All these events took place during the Wars of the Austrian Succession, and while the author was aware of this fact, he believed that Maria Theresa had inherited the empire after her father's death but then passed on the crown to her spouse. Moreover, somebody had told him the amusing story that the young King Frederick of Prussia had asked for her hand in marriage, but due to his 'Lutheran' denomination, Charles VI had refused him, preferring 'Françesko', who had once been his foster child.[57]

The Duke of Saxony featured as the sixth elector; Ahmed Resmî knew that the current prince was also King of Poland, and was well aware of the destruction that the armies of Frederick II had wreaked

in this unfortunate province (*eyalet*). Frederick as King of Brandenburg-Prussia appeared as the seventh member of the Electoral College. In order to render comprehensible the latter's ambitions to appropriate Habsburg possessions and dignities, the author embarked on a discussion of the weaknesses of this dynasty, of which, as he must have known, Maria Theresa was the last representative in the male line. Apart from the considerations previously discussed, the author dwelt on the fact that Bohemia had also been laid waste by the armies of Frederick II. At the end of his list Ahmed Resmî mentioned the Palatinate (Palatinat *sancağı*), about which he had almost nothing to say, as well as Hanover. He reported that this latter territory had been inherited by the English king George (Corco); therefore it was administered by a governor.

Taken by itself, this simple list of principalities whose rulers were electors, and a few other associated territories, cannot be regarded as an important text. But it is of interest nevertheless, in part because of the terminology, partly Italian or French and partly Ottoman, by means of which Ahmed Resmî attempts to familiarize his readers with polities about which in all likelihood they knew almost nothing. More importantly, Ahmed Resmî knew well and tried to explain to his readers that Habsburg policy was not formulated in a vacuum, but to a significant extent determined by relations to other polities of the Holy Roman Empire.

Most of all, the Ottoman diplomat was interested in the conflict with Prussia; by contrast he remained unaware of the much broader concerns of France, England and Russia, to say nothing of the colonial struggle between England and France in America and elsewhere, although this conflict surely was *the* major 'world historical' component of the Seven Years' War. Thus the author was unable to see that it was these three major powers that were going to decide the outcome of the war. Moreover, at this stage Ahmed Resmî had virtually no information on the resources available to Frederick II or the limits to his power, issues that he came to appreciate only when later on he spent time in Berlin. His analysis of the Habsburg power base was thus rather myopic. Yet it is noteworthy that he asked how in spite of limited resources a prudent and honest administration could not only keep the regime going but also produce an appearance of relative prosperity.

Quite possibly the views of Ibn Khaldûn were of significance here, which had come to form an element of Ottoman political culture at least among intellectuals. Thus the chronicler Mustafa Naima (about 1655–1716) had noted that according to the criteria proposed by Ibn Khaldûn, the Ottoman Empire had passed its prime. However, Naima was confident that by prudent political measures it would be possible

to defer the end for a very long time yet.[58] Remarkably, however, Ahmed Resmî did not link the qualities of Maria Theresa's administration to her political reforms in the spirit of 'enlightened absolutism'. Only during his stay in Berlin did Ahmed Resmî become aware of concerns such as mercantilism and the promotion of transport and communications.

At the end of an epoch: Ebubekir Ratib

Almost forty years separate the reports of Ahmed Resmî and Ebubekir Ratib. When the latter, at certain points of his career a close associate of Sultan Selim III, travelled to Vienna in 1791 the political situation had changed profoundly; in consequence the role of Ebubekir Ratib differed from that of his predecessors. Recently the Habsburgs and Ottomans had fought out one of their numerous wars, and according to the peace of Ziştovi (1790–91) the two dynasties were to exchange embassies to confirm the agreement.[59] On the face of it, Ebubekir was thus in charge of a purely diplomatic mission. But unofficially it was his brief to collect published and unpublished information that the young sultan intended to employ in his projected military reforms.[60]

Ebubekir Ratib thus visited Austria in the aftermath of a major war; this fact determined his own perspective as well as that of his Habsburg interlocutors. These circumstances explain at least in part why the author was interested in the strengths and weaknesses of imperial fortifications; he was incensed when local governors and commanders tried to prevent him from collecting this type of intelligence. He thus commented that among the 'unbelievers' ambassadors were licensed spies; but supposedly he had never stooped to such acts. However, his dispatches are clear evidence to the contrary.[61] Similarly to Ahmed Resmî, Ebubekir Ratib maintained good contacts with certain Hungarian noblemen, who often assured him that they retained respectful memories of the Ottoman Sultan who had ruled over their ancestors a century earlier. In poems that Ebubekir Ratib inserted into his text according to the conventions of Ottoman prose-writing current at the time, and which probably were of his own composition, the author often voiced the hope that Sultan Selim would re-conquer the provinces that the Ottomans had lost to the Habsburgs in the course of the past century.

In 1791 the French Revolution was in full swing, and when reporting on the momentous changes in France, Ebubekir Ratib used the newspaper known as the *Wiener Zeitung* as his principal source. Apparently he did not regard the strict censorship over all publicly available sources of information concerning these events as a cause for scepticism. After all, he was presumably no stranger to'information

control': the Ottoman Empire was also a monarchy and in theory the Sultan an absolute ruler, although the realities of the eighteenth century were markedly different. Even so, the ambassador realized that the expenditures of past wars conducted by the French king had resulted in high taxation of the latter's subjects. He also noted that the nobility had been unwilling to shoulder its share of the burden, and that this state of affairs had contributed to the outbreak of the revolution. However, Ebubekir Ratib warned his readers that recent events did not imply that the collapse of France was imminent: on the contrary, there was a distinct possibility that the country would soon be once again governed by a powerful monarch. As an alternative, Ebubekir Ratib suggested that the Jacobins would attempt to 'export' their revolution.[62] Certainly the ambassador drew much of his inspiration from the discourse of French *émigrés*, whom he could meet in person or whose publications he read. Whatever the sources of his predictions, they soon turned out to be correct, for in 1792 the Jacobins began their attempts to establish 'sister republics' in neighbouring states. Moreover, by 1799 Napoleon had become First Consul and ruled France and soon afterwards most of continental Europe.

In conclusion

What does this series of vignettes teach us? First of all, the reports of the sultans' ambassadors reflect not anonymous bureaucrats, but differing personalities with clearly visible likes and dislikes, with obvious strengths and limitations. This fact is worth stressing, as the travelogue format turned out to be a seriously constraining factor. Seyfullah Ağa was a straightforward reporter, prepared to communicate pleasantly with 'unbelievers' as long as the latter showed him the appropriate courtesy. Nuʿmân Efendi had scientific and technical gifts, but when it came to sifting information he was inclined to accept unconfirmed rumours as gospel truth – and his relationship to his boss is not exactly a testimony to his diplomatic talents. While Ahmed Resmî increasingly became concerned with the economic and political resources of foreign powers, Zülfikâr Paşa seems to have known very little about the world outside the Ottoman borders and therefore merely reported the facts that came to his knowledge. Thus he was not motivated to compensate for the failure of his peace mission by collecting information on other relevant issues, such as for instance geography, history, or political structure.

In these dialogues – or failed dialogues – tensions between Christians and Muslims had a special role to play. All ambassadors emphasized their difficult positions as Muslims in the lands of

‘unbelievers’, and quite often they highlighted their faithful adherence to the rules of Islam even under difficult circumstances. Only Ebubekir Ratib tended to place his emphasis differently: while he professed to dislike most of the people he encountered on Habsburg territory, the reasons for his attitude were cultural and political rather than religious. Apparently he was constantly in a state of tension, because he suspected – probably with good reason – that the Habsburgs and their servitors were out to diminish the stature of Selim III whenever an opportunity presented itself. In recent wars the Ottoman armies had not been very successful, and presumably this subject served as an occasion for many a barbed comment; in addition there was Ebubekir Ratib’s nightmare, namely that an alliance of Russia and the Habsburgs might first defeat France and then attack the territories of the Sultan.[63] In certain respects the attitude of Ebubekir Ratib thus coincided with views that became widespread among the Ottoman elite after about 1850: on the one hand, European coalitions could easily turn into a menace and needed constant vigilance; on the other hand, even very pious personages came to regard religion and politics as separate domains.

To Ottoman ambassadors who visited Vienna during the lifetime of Maria Theresa, and even after her death, this female sovereign was a fulcrum of interest. In part this was due to the fact that a woman ruled not from ‘behind the scenes’, as had occasionally happened in Istanbul as well, but in full view of everybody; this situation was a novelty for members of the Ottoman elite. Moreover, Mustafa Hattî visited the imperial court under unusually peaceful circumstances – perhaps it is not an exaggeration to regard Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) as ‘objectively’ an ally of Maria Theresa during the Wars of the Austrian Succession. Thus the ambassador often had occasion to see the empress and could find out more about her than would have been possible under less relaxed circumstances. Even Ebubekir Ratib, who traversed Hungary and Austria more than ten years after the death of the Habsburg Empress, felt motivated to remark that in her honour, a village in the district of Başka had received new settlers and become a privileged town called Maria Theresia Novipol.[64] While the ambassador otherwise had few positive things to say about the Habsburgs and their territories, he did admit that the new town amidst gardens and vineyards had a flourishing aspect, and the enterprise begun in the name of the empress had thus had been successful. In brief, Maria Theresa was a fairly positive figure in the eyes of Ottoman ambassadors. Presumably the reason was that the Empress had never forgotten how the refusal of the Ottoman Sultan to join the coalition against herself had been a significant factor in preserving her throne.[65]

Early Ottoman embassy reports typically focused on relatively isolated events, but observers from the second half of the eighteenth century increasingly developed a more encompassing perspective. When reading Ahmed Resmî's account it soon becomes apparent that the author regarded the format of the travelogue as limiting, because it provided few occasions for sketching a broader context. Therefore the author added chapters on the politics of the Holy Roman Empire, but also about the geography of the region surrounding Vienna. Even more obviously, when discussing his Berlin embassy Ahmed Resmî inserted sections dealing with particular topics, including the function of canals, monopolies in the production of luxuries such as porcelain, or the role of domestic trade. Certainly Zülfikâr Paşa was aware that the conflict between Louis XIV and the Habsburgs had repercussions on the war in Hungary, but Ebubekir Ratib in his dispatches provided a much broader image concerning the events in France and their consequences for European politics. While Ebubekir Ratib did not feel a shred of sympathy for the revolutionaries, he did recognize that there were objective reasons, particularly financial pressures, for many Frenchmen to hate the King.[66] Presumably the *émigrés* among his friends had told him that the Jacobins were evil men, but Ebubekir Ratib never claimed that the personal characters of the revolutionaries were a major reason for the upheaval.

As a result, we can be sure that at least Ottoman ambassadors who had spent time in Vienna and surroundings were concerned about European politics well before Napoleon's occupation of Egypt. By the early eighteenth century we observe that the Ottoman elite, including Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), became more interested in establishing diplomatic contacts, not only with European powers but also with Iranian and Indian potentates. However, the professionalization of the Ottoman diplomatic service was a long-term process, and in spite of his special experience Ebubekir Ratib, after returning to Istanbul-headed the Ottoman Foreign Service as the *reisülküttâb* for only a short period. As a result, his fund of experience garnered at the Habsburg court was of limited use to his beleaguered successors. Even so, it makes sense to, assume that certain members of the Ottoman elite began to change their views of 'world politics' not in the early nineteenth century, with Napoleon's attack on Egypt, but almost fifty years earlier, when Ahmed Resmî reported from Vienna.

Last but not least, we need to keep in mind the fact that Ottoman ambassadors of the 1700s – actually and physically – travelled to Vienna and other European capitals as well. In the historical and geographic literature available to them, they would have found very little usable information; and we do not know whether – and if so to what extent – they tapped oral sources of information before setting

out. Even if an ambassador did have expert help, as Ebubekir Ratib enjoyed due to his connection to Mouradgea d'Ohsson, it was the act of travel, first through Ottoman lands and then through the territories of the Habsburgs, that was a crucial source of political knowledge: information was dependent on the mobility of the diplomat.

CHAPTER 2

Material culture in Latinate Europe: as reported by eighteenth-century Ottoman ambassadors

Shortly after the return to Istanbul of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi (c. 1670–1732), Ottoman ambassador to France in 1720, Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) had his embassy report translated into French and sent to the court in Versailles. As documents in the archives of the French foreign ministry show, the ambassador's trip proved to be quite an adventure, for due to the plague epidemic that decimated Marseilles in that year, the Ottoman embassy had to enter the country by a less convenient port and travel to Paris and Versailles on a roundabout route.

Through his lengthy and detailed account Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi instituted the Ottoman embassy report in the format that we will investigate in the present chapter, continuing a line of Ottomanist research that has been going on for some seventy years and more.[1] But before tackling individual reports, we need to take at least a cursory look at the social and political context in which they were produced, and above all at the writing conventions that Ottoman authors followed when relaying information about non-Islamic societies. After all, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi had created a paradigm that his successors would regard as 'standard' and follow well into the late 1700s.

This format involved writing a travel account that stated with exactitude when the embassy had been where; the reception of the ambassador by the officials of the court to which he had been accredited formed another major topic. In this type of writing it was difficult to engage in lengthy descriptions of a given enterprise or institution, as the dynamic of the travel account demanded that 'something must be happening' all the time and the ambassador be on his way as soon as his mission was accomplished. It would be worth

following up how and why mid-eighteenth-century authors came to choose this template, and it is also noteworthy that in the 1790s, when the political context had radically changed, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi's format came to be considered less and less useful.

As the accounts of Ottoman envoys visiting European courts have – albeit sporadically – interested scholars both within and outside of Turkey, at present we possess a number of text editions of Ottoman travel cum embassy reports; those prepared from the 1970s onward usually include introductions, more or less detailed commentaries and sometimes translations into a Western language or Modern Turkish.[2] Many scholars, particularly of the older generation, have studied these reports because they saw them as Ottoman sources on international relations. When it came to cultural contact, these same texts could feature as records documenting the beginnings of 'Ottoman modernization'. These concerns are particularly evident in the journal *Tarih Vesikaları*, which pioneered the publication of Ottoman embassy reports in Latin characters.[3] But similar concerns also were dominant in the minds of historians such as Münir Aktepe, Norman Itzkowitz and Max Mote, who during the last quarter of the twentieth century all focused on eighteenth-century ambassadors' accounts.[4]

By contrast Richard Kreutel and his collaborators, who first edited the seventeenth-century embassy account of Kara Mehmed Paşa to the Habsburg court, probably were at least as much interested in finding new sources on the history of Vienna during the late 1600s as they were in the history of diplomatic relations. In addition Kreutel, Karl Teply and Erich Prokosch focused on the famous Ottoman travel writer Evliya Çelebi, who formed part of Mehmed Paşa's suite and recorded his impressions of the Habsburg capital. Thus for the few weeks that Evliya spent there in 1665 a primary source became available that reflected snippets of folklore, Ottoman and indirectly Viennese as well, concerning the imperial capital; at the same time, this text also gave twentieth-century readers an idea of how an educated member of the Ottoman elite regarded the capital of the Habsburg 'arch-enemy'. After all, to the Ottomans Vienna was a special place, as together with Rome, it was one of the as yet unconquered cities known as the *kızıl elma* (red apple), that according to certain authors should – and would – ultimately form part of the Sultan's territory.[5]

Debates about 'East' and 'West'

Apart from a rather moderate interest in Ottoman modernization, until the 1980s there was not much motivation to attempt evaluating the reports of the sultans' ambassadors in terms of relations between

'East' and 'West'. However, the books of Edward Said and Bernard Lewis, and the polemics to which they gave rise, in the long run did have an impact on the study of Ottoman ambassadorial reports.[6]

Instead of 'in the long run' we might even say 'in the very long run', for the work of Said at first changed not only the study of Ottoman authors, but also that of European accounts of the Ottoman world. From the late 1970s onward, scholars dealing with texts penned by European observers attempted to discern to what extent the latter served the construction of 'Ottoman alterity', a mindset comparable to the prejudices that Said had exposed in his work on British and French perceptions of the Arab world. In many cases eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European writers dealing with the Middle East had produced stereotypes bolstering colonial domination, such as the idea of a 'passive inert East without a real history' contrasted to a 'dynamic and creative West'. With regard to the Ottoman world, Stéphane Yérasimos (1942–2005), a trilingual Istanbul-Greek-turned-Frenchman, was the first author to produce comprehensive work in this critical paradigm. Like Said, Yérasimos was concerned with 'intertextuality', a scholarly term that on a practical level often meant finding out who had copied what and from whom. Stereotypes about 'Turks' and Muslims were especially amenable to such copying.[7] While Yérasimos later moved on to other topics, his work was continued by Gerald Maclean and at least tangentially by Linda Colley.[8]

As for the comments of Ottoman ambassadors on Central, Eastern and Western Europe, historians of the post-Said era valued these texts as comments originating from within Ottoman culture. Put differently, these reports were the'voices' of members of the Ottoman elite. As a result, Said's book, albeit indirectly, became the starting point for a renewed interest in the writings of these Ottoman authors, and thus helped bring about the 'literary turn' that has become characteristic of the study of history in recent years, in the Ottoman realm as elsewhere. By contrast Bernard Lewis' contention that for a long time the Muslims had a very deficient notion of 'the West' did not attract nearly as much attention among Ottomanists, although Lewis worked on Ottoman history while Said's concern with this particular field was relatively marginal.

However, a number of years ago İbrahim Şirin critiqued Lewis' claim that 'the Muslims' or 'the Ottomans' had not comprehended what was going on in Europe and therefore were incapable of really assimilating 'modernity'. Thus Lewis rejected the view, widely held among present-day Ottomanists, that access to 'modernity' could take different routes, and the Ottomans in the period after 1840 simply charted one such path.[9] In this context, İbrahim Şirin has remarked that Lewis in his younger years, when he wrote his still much-

respected book on Ottoman and Turkish modernization, generally took very 'reasonable' positions. But his polemic with Said caused him to come up with claims that cannot possibly be true, such as the aberrant statement that European Oriental studies had been purely scholarly and without political aims.[10] In his critique Şirin has faulted Lewis for selecting his sources to suit his thesis: he has always stressed those authors most inimical to novelties, and left their opponents, who after all were Ottomans too, in the shadow. Şirin also has proposed an explanation as to why so few Turkish historians have criticized this aspect of Lewis' work: during the Turkish–Armenian polemics of the last decades Lewis has always defended the Turkish position, and as a result people have been reluctant to criticize him.

In his book Şirin aims at establishing a connection between Ottoman observers of European polities and the predicament of Turkish intellectuals today. In this author's perspective, the latter do not know whether they will ever 'arrive' in Europe and also query whether such an 'arrival' would be desirable or not. But the author is also convinced that given the situation in which Turkish intellectuals find themselves today, it is quite impossible to return to the security that Ottoman culture of the sixteenth century presumably supplied to its adherents. His book thus can be read as a critique of *laudatio temporis acti* and 'Ottoman revivalism'.

A new type of periodization

When it comes to perspectives on Europe, İbrahim Şirin has suggested a sequence of four periods traversed by the Ottoman elite. This periodization is especially interesting because the author suggests that Ottomans who engaged in this endeavour went through the same stages as their counterparts, namely Europeans viewing the Ottoman world. He certainly makes an important point in stressing that even among the small number of the sultans' subjects who wrote books, there was no consensus about European-style novelties entering the Ottoman domains. Şirin assumes that religious scholars (*ulema*) were more likely to take a conservative position, while people pursuing administrative and military careers, due to their formation in the palaces of the Sultan and provincial magnates, found it easier to relate to novelties arriving from outside the Islamic world. However, recent research shows that this neat division is not necessarily realistic; thus the medical man and religious scholar Şânîzâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah (late 1760s–1826), at one time qadi of Eyüp, apparently had no objection to fire insurance and modern-style town planning. İsmail Gelenbevi, a contemporary man of religion, taught at the Istanbul school of engineering and wrote a book on logarithms, while at the

same time continuing his career as a religious scholar.[11] Moreover, the historian Ahmed Cevdet, while certainly a conservative in many aspects of his thinking, had his daughter carefully educated so that she could become an author and a journalist; and the work of Christoph Neumann has shown that much of his writing can be read as a defence of the Tanzimat reforms.[12] At the present state of information, generalizations on who was more likely to take a conservative stand are quite problematic: we need to keep in mind Sherlock Holmes' warning about developing theories before the data are in place.

Şirin suggests four distinct epochs; before the peace of Karlowitz (1699) Ottoman authors had no doubts concerning the superiority of the Islamic world. This attitude changed in the early 1700s when at least some writers conceded that there were certain fields of human endeavour in which the achievements of Europeans equalled those of the Muslims. Between 1730 and 1839, or for about a century, quite a few Ottoman authors admitted that by now, there were many aspects of life in which Europeans could claim to have surpassed what had been achieved by the sultans' subjects. As for the fourth stage, it encompassed the last century of the empire's existence (1839–1922), when Ottomans very often felt outclassed by Europeans.[13]

In Şirin's perspective these periods correspond to different world views, found in the Ottoman domains and also in Europe. As far as the first (Ottoman Turkish: *kadim*) epoch is concerned, Ottomans and Europeans even went through the same phase at the same time. In both cases religion was the basis for contempt of 'the other', it being of secondary importance whether the motivation was Islamic or Christian. But in sixteenth-century Europe, a way of looking at the world emerged that Şirin calls 'the Renaissance mode'. Thus certain authors including Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–92), ambassador of Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503–64) to Istanbul, regarded absolutism as the ideal mode of government, and the sultan as the ruler who had come closest to realizing this ideal.[14] Authors in this frame of mind were willing to concede that the Ottomans were ahead of Europeans in military, political and to some extent juridical terms. As for the Ottomans, this 'Renaissance-style' of viewing the world became popular among intellectuals of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

European authors and their public began to adopt the modernist style of thinking during the second half of the eighteenth century. This was also the time when 'Orientalism' came into being; as Edward Said has demonstrated, the denigration of the Islamic world inherent in this complex of attitudes provided very comfortable justifications for colonialism. The Ottomans by contrast adopted modernity in a very different context after 1839; and down to the very end of the empire

many authors retained elements of what Şirin has called the 'Renaissance-style' world view. Thus when we look at the Ottoman evaluations of Europe there are four stages, to which correspond three principal ideologies: the old religion-based mode of thinking, the 'Renaissance-style' and modernism.

I have some reservations with respect to Şirin's typology, and as a result I also see problems where his chronology is concerned. To begin with the European story: certainly fully fledged 'Orientalism' emerged in the later 1700s, but as Nancy Bisaha has pointed out, Renaissance humanists, very much worried by the Ottoman advance in South-eastern Europe, developed quite a few tropes that later became part and parcel of 'Orientalism', including the concept that there was a timeless opposition between 'East and West'.[15] Where the Ottoman side is at issue, recent research has more or less demolished the whole idea of a 'Tulip Period' (1718–30), in which elite Ottomans supposedly first made closer contact with Europe.[16] In consequence I am not sure that it is a good idea to regard a few men like Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi or the Grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa (c. 1662–1730) as typical figures. It seems more sensible to view this period, for which present-day historians seem to have a sneaking nostalgia, as a prolongation of what went on before; for even in the seventeenth century the scholar Kâtib Çelebi after all made extensive use of Dutch atlases.[17] We may also ask whether the massive defeat against Russia, in other words the peace of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), was not a more important turning point in Ottoman perceptions of the Christian world than the novelties favoured by the courtly culture of the early 1700s. But even so, Şirin's discussion is helpful, for he has linked European and Ottoman world views and analyzed them with the aid of comparable categories. Thereby he has abandoned the old stereotype that Ottoman and European cultures were so different as to be incommensurable, and I would see this move as a long-overdue step in the right direction.

The aims of the present study

These important questions certainly deserve a more ample discussion than is feasible in a short text. Therefore the present chapter has much more modest aims, namely to analyze the statements made by eighteenth-century Ottoman envoys and diplomats about the material culture and institutional arrangements that they encountered when visiting European countries. A few studies on this topic exist, but a lot still remains to be done. Of course, in a few pages it is not possible to exhaust the subject, and no attempt will be made to do so.

We will more or less ignore the very occasional remarks of Ottoman

ambassadors on the'social values' – or more often the lack of same – that they encountered in Europe. Instead the focus will be on material culture and questions of social organization closely connected with the production and distribution of goods. After all, these diplomats were not out to locate novel values: as a result they had more to say about technical and organizational aspects than about the ideals which may – or may not – have inspired the novelties that they wrote about. On the contrary, in the early 1700s an envoy such as Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi was interested in inventions and designs that might make the life of the Sultan's court and that of the elite more agreeable. From mid-century onward, the emphasis gradually changed, and by the later 1700s the envoys were on the lookout for technical and organizational novelties that might have some bearing on the survival of the empire. Given this situation it is only prudent to limit the discussion to straightforward, tangible matters.

Ottoman embassy accounts of the 1700s often contained lengthy descriptions of diplomatic protocol, to the frequent frustration of historians searching for observations on the culture of the country visited. However, if we adopt a pragmatic point of view, in other words focus on the function of these reports, it becomes obvious that protocol was indeed of major significance. Whether an ambassador was immediately received by the local ruler or else kept waiting in some miserable village was a clear indication of the prestige of the monarch who had sent the envoy in the eyes of the court that received him.[18] At the same time, an ambassador had to show his skill in defending the honour and prestige of his ruler even under difficult circumstances. It was equally essential for an envoy to gain or retain the good opinion of the Sultan and Grand Vizier. Whatever the opinions of the author, the likes and dislikes of the Ottoman court very largely determined what appeared and what was omitted in an embassy report. Furthermore as financial means were in short supply, certain authors of embassy accounts reported quite extensively on what they had done with the valuable objects that had been entrusted to them, so that they would cut a fine figure at the court that they visited. Once their mission was over, the ambassadors had to return these items, presumably in good condition.

Not that all sources of prestige were part of the natural world: non-material goods were also of some importance. For commonly, Ottoman officials were temporarily promoted to higher rank for the duration of their assignment and demoted after their return. Yet surely many ambassadors hoped soon to enjoy 'regular' promotions, perhaps to the ranks that they had temporarily held.

Last but not least we need to keep in mind that eighteenth-century Ottoman embassy reports were not meant to stay secret for a long

time. Quite often chroniclers were able to consult them shortly after they had been written, and even inserted these texts into their works. Although such chronicles did not reach a wide readership, they were not confidential either. Thus it would not have been appropriate to discuss the *arcana imperii* in detail; such matters would have been the subject of oral reports.[19] Even so, ambassadors had some choice in what they included or left out, and some ambassadors were more explicit in matters of 'high politics' or else material culture than their colleagues.

Evliya Çelebi, an unrecognized pioneer

Apparently the oldest Ottoman embassy report was the work of a certain Taceddin, who had attended the court of the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan on behalf of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1451–81). Otherwise not much is known about this personage. In the sixteenth century Hidayet Çavuş was the first to report on a European court, namely that of Ferdinand I, the monarch who had sent Busbecq to Istanbul.[20] However, once again a huge gap followed, for the next report briefly covered the embassy of Kara Mehmed Paşa, who as previously noted was in Vienna in 1665. Mehmed Paşa may well have written this account in person; unfortunately it contains little information useful for our present purpose.

More informative is the description of Evliya Çelebi, of whose visit to Vienna in the company of Mehmed Paşa there remains a record in the Habsburg archives. Certainly Evliya's text was not an embassy report but a chapter in a lengthy often novelistic travelogue; the author's talents as a storyteller only received appreciation in the mid-1800s. Thus this account, with its lively interest in Viennese material culture and also in music and the fine arts, to us may appear as a predecessor to the reports of the later eighteenth century, in which such issues also occur, at least upon occasion. But in all probability, the authors of these texts had never encountered Evliya's work.[21]

Once again, however, genre conventions are of importance. Evliya's mode of narration in many ways resembled that of the storytellers (*meddah*) often plying their trade in coffee-houses. Some of his descriptions of persons and things thus reflect not only the physical phenomena that he encountered in the real world, but also the narrative conventions of *meddah*s. As an example, we may refer to his descriptions of the different imperial thrones, which Evliya claimed to have seen in the 'Burg' of Vienna, where Leopold I (1640–1705) resided at that time.[22]

Evliya did not mind taking his readers into the realm of the

miraculous, but usually there was a concrete item that he really had seen and then 'decorated' according to his imagination and current storytelling conventions. Thus the author described the paintings on the façades of many houses. While these '*Lüftlmalereien*' do not survive in downtown Vienna, they still are frequently seen in smaller towns of Austria and Bavaria. It is therefore probable that Evliya saw them in Vienna as well, and was impressed by their realism. Interestingly, he claimed to have seen a depiction of the Battle of Párkány (1663), which the Habsburgs lost, and also of the Ottoman defeat at St Gotthard/Raab in the following year. Therefore these paintings must have been brand new at the time of his visit. Evliya also noted that these publicly visible paintings showed the Emperor in all his 'camel-lipped' ugliness, but that the monarch did not mind: on the contrary he supposedly had the painter rewarded with a pension for producing such a striking likeness. We do not know where this story had originated, nor can we tell from where Evliya had derived the information that in 'all their historical works' the victories and defeats of the Habsburgs were faithfully recorded, in other words without embellishments.[23]

At the same time Evliya was somewhat interested in technology. Thus he included a short description of the machinery that in the Habsburg mint cut out the coins while at the same time providing them with the relevant inscriptions. Evliya felt that this procedure permitted the minting of fifty thousand coins a day. On an even more mundane level the author took an interest in a revolving barber's seat that permitted the owner to shave people without standing up. The interface between material culture and musical performance also came in for some attention: after listening to the organ in St Stephen, Evliya noted that this instrument produced sounds that were sweet and moving but also others that made the listener think of the roaring of the Antichrist. However, he did not claim the involvement of supernatural powers; on the contrary, Evliya was at pains to explain that the effect was due to an inventive combination of the appropriate pipes.

Material culture in the borderlands

When it comes to material culture, an interesting testimony is due to Ebû Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi (see Chapter 1), who was active in the Habsburg–Ottoman borderlands in 1740. According to the peace of Belgrade, the Habsburgs needed to return the Serbian capital to the sultan, and they suffered other territorial losses as well.[24] Now the Danube and Sava were to form the new border; at first glance this point sounds very straightforward. However, the opposite was true, as

the Danube held numerous islands that according to the treaty should belong to the power whose mainland territory was closest. Given the variable amounts of water that this river carries, these islands were liable to changes in shape, and to forestall future disputes, intricate measurements and calculations were necessary.

In addition, provision had to be made for shipping. Given the strong current, ships going upriver had to be pulled by horses or mules, which meant that roads or at least towpaths would have to pass close to the water. But certain stretches of the Danube were not suitable for this purpose, because steep cliffs bordered the river or else the shore was swampy. In addition, paths serviceable when the water level was normal might be useless in case of high water. Under such circumstances arrangements had to be made that permitted the towing of Ottoman ships on the Habsburg side and vice versa. It was also necessary to make arrangements for ships and barges to spend the winter if, as often happened during the eighteenth century, the Danube froze over. To find solutions acceptable to both monarchs was a job for surveyors but also for diplomats, and on this process Nuʿman Efendi provided a good bit of information.

His report is special because although the author had trained as a religious scholar and was a candidate for a teaching position in a college of Islamic law and divinity (*medrese*), he knew a lot about surveying and also was skilled in the construction of the relevant instruments. As, moreover, his assignment to the border commission was temporary, he had few qualms about speaking his mind. As a result, readers learn quite a bit about the tensions within the Ottoman commission, but also about the various tricks by which members of the two delegations tried to take advantage of their respective opponents.

For the historian concerned with material culture, Nuʿmân Efendi's report is of interest because he has reported anecdotes about the surveying instruments available to the two delegations. He had seen the Austrian variety and felt that they were better than those used by the Ottomans, but he could not gain access to them because the Habsburg officials kept them secret.[25] However, he finally installed himself in a tent from where he had a good view of the Austrian encampment, and with the aid of a telescope he was able to figure out the details of his opponents' instruments. He then proceeded to copy the latter in wood because specialized instrument makers were apparently unavailable. When he appeared at a meeting with these improvised pieces, the Habsburg commissioners had a good laugh at his expense. Nothing daunted, Nuʿmân Efendi stated that he had studied geometry and surveying using the works of Islamic authors, and challenged the Habsburg specialists to a competition in these

disciplines.

Similarly to his predecessor Evliya Çelebi, Nuʿmân Efendi has also left a description of an organ, which he observed in a Protestant church in the Transylvanian town of Sibiu/Hermannstadt. Nuʿmân Efendi seems to have been less interested in the musical aspect but quite intrigued by the technology involved, including the pipes and the general setup of the instrument.[26] In brief, Nuʿmân Efendi's work merits more attention than it has received so far, if only because here we have the testimony of another religious scholar with a well-developed interest in European technology. Evidently not all men of religion were as conservative as modern historians believe them to have been.

Rules of conduct for an ambassador, or diplomacy as an object of newly gained significance

Even though the Ottomans had succeeded in re-conquering the Morea (1715) and Belgrade (1740) it seems that many officials in the Sultan's service appreciated that in eighteenth-century conflicts with powerful neighbours, the Ottoman army could no longer guarantee victories, especially if the Sultan chose to 'go it alone'. It was therefore necessary to collect information on prospective friends and foes, and for this purpose, diplomacy was indispensable. Doubtless the most famous example is – once again – the mission of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi, who visited the French court in 1720. In Versailles the Ottoman ambassador attracted a good deal of attention and upon his return wrote a report on what he had seen, highlighting French courtly culture and particularly the gardens of Versailles. Specialists still debate to what extent his report may have influenced the gardens of Ahmed III in Sadabad near Istanbul.[27]

But that same year, the Ottoman court also dispatched an ambassador to Iran: Dürri Ahmed Efendi from Van near the Iranian border was probably chosen because he was well educated in Persian and knew his way around the country.[28] This ambassador produced an interesting report on the Safavid court just before the dynasty lost power: the Ottoman ambassador balanced criticism of the – in his view – mistaken policies of Shah Soltan Husayn and admiration for the sophistication of Iranian poetry and music. He also included remarks on the famous textiles produced in the country, the relative lack of fortifications and the presumed sympathies of Sunni subjects of the Shah for the Ottoman Sultan; the latter remarks may have been aimed at encouraging Ottoman intervention in the domestic troubles of the Safavid realm. Thus at least in the early eighteenth century the Ottoman court was not fixated on the West, for there was also some

diplomatic interest in India. Presumably certain Ottoman officials assumed that if sufficient information on foreign countries could be made available, they would be able to remedy some of the political errors of the past.[29]

Visiting Russia

The late Cold War has narrowed our perception of Ottoman history. Thus it is easy to forget that in the eighteenth century, policy makers in Istanbul paid more attention to the empire of the tsars than to England or France, countries with which as yet there were no territorial disputes. At the same time, Ottoman information about the strengths and weaknesses of the tsars' empire was quite limited. It is worth remembering that the sultans at the height of their power in the sixteenth century certainly had planned – but not actually conducted – a great war to prevent the tsars from annexing Astrakhan; a single unsuccessful campaign was the sole result of a much more ambitious plan.[30] Even seventeenth-century wars had mostly needed but limited resources, as the sultans frequently relied on the initiatives of the Tatar khans.[31] Due to the failed policies of Tsar Peter I in the Black Sea region Istanbul policy makers of the mid-1700s probably were inclined to underestimate the military potential of the Russian Empire. As a result the war of 1768–74 was an unexpected disaster for the sultans, their servitors, and especially the unfortunate inhabitants of Moldavia, Walachia and today's Bulgaria. Even so, the Russian court of Catherine II (1729–96) and her predecessors, now resident in the European-style baroque ambiance of St Petersburg, was one of the most frequent destinations of Ottoman envoys.[32]

At first glance it appears that the absolutism of the tsars should have been familiar to Ottoman ambassadors: although in reality the sultans of this period needed the acquiescence of the 'great households' in the capital and provinces and also of the janissaries, essentially the Sultan was also the absolute lord of his domains.[33] However, Christoph Neumann has suggested some reasons why in spite of this basic commonality the Russian setup appeared so alien to members of the Ottoman elite. First of all, these men often had been raised in grandee households, including that of the Sultan, which was the grandest household of them all. Thus for an Ottoman gentleman, patron–client relations were important, and loyalty to one's patron a fundamental value. By contrast, in Russia such relations, while not completely unknown, remained invisible to the outsider, especially if he stayed only for a short time; at least 'on paper' everything was done strictly by bureaucratic rules.[34] Matters were complicated by the fact that during the 1700s the Russian administration developed

rapidly. Therefore practices current at the time of a given visit might have already been abrogated by the time the next ambassador appeared on the scene.

Ottoman officials by contrast were accustomed to operating by precedent, so that changing practices were often a source of friction, as Şehdi Osman, in St Petersburg 1757 during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna (r. 1741–62), was well aware.[35] Furthermore the Russian bureaucracy was out to destabilize Ottoman envoys, and 'bureaucratic reforms' must have often served this very purpose. Even worse, the Russians systematically failed to comply with a prescription contained in the capitulations granted to the tsars, namely that after the end of a war, prisoners who had not accepted baptism were to be repatriated. As a result, most Ottoman ambassadors came away very unhappy with their experience. Probably the climate of St Petersburg did nothing to improve their impressions, and as a result interest in Russian material culture remained quite limited.

In addition Şehdi Osman favoured a highly embellished style of writing, with many rhetorical flourishes and thus not very suitable for the relaying of information. Even so, he made some interesting remarks, noting that the tsarina had travelled from St Petersburg to Kiev in eight days, while normally this journey took 360 hours. Such a speedy journey was made possible because of elaborate preparations, so that in no time at all the horses could be changed and the travellers supplied. While this performance was due to a high level of organization rather than technology, the Russians, according to the ambassador, were very proud of their achievement.[36]

More significant was Şehdi Osman's report on the arms factory of Tula, founded by Peter I to take advantage of the gunsmiths already working in this region.[37] The ambassador, who was taken to see the works just before returning to Istanbul, commented that facilities were available to manufacture the guns of 150,000 soldiers.[38] Moreover, all saws, hammers and wheels operated by water power, so that the enterprise resembled a set of watermills. Only the blacksmiths worked like ordinary artisans. Apparently the performance of the factory was not kept secret, but rather served as an advertisement for Russian military power. At the end of his visit Şehdi Osman even received some guns and pistols as samples of the 'new skills' (*sanayi-i cedide*), that he was to take home as mementoes.

Visits to France and the German-speaking territories

In spite of the cases discussed here, it was only in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that accounts of material culture became a major concern of Ottoman ambassadors. As a fine example

we will discuss the report of Ahmed Resmî (1700–83) about his stay in Berlin (for his visit to Vienna see Chapter 1). When this ambassador arrived at the Prussian court in 1763 and spent some time in the Prussian capital, he became especially interested in trade and transportation.

Northern Europe was a region that remained all but unknown even to well-travelled Ottomans, as is obvious from the curious stories on this subject that Evliya Çelebi saw fit to include in his travelogue.[39] Ahmed Resmî therefore relayed some information not only on geography, but also on the trade routes traversing this region. He thus reported on the Vistula as a link between Cracow, Warsaw and Gdansk, highlighting the significance of this latter port town as an exporter of grain, which fed a sizeable part of Western Europe; he also referred to Amsterdam and Hamburg as centres of the European grain trade.[40] Closer to his site of observation, the Spree, a tributary of the Havel which empties into the Elbe and ultimately the North Sea, also had commercial significance, as did the nearby Oder/Odra that provided a link to the Baltic. In his description of Berlin the author also pointed out that since the early 1700s the digging of canals had greatly increased the usefulness of the local rivers for trade.[41]

Presumably Ahmed Resmî was so interested in river-based trade because the latter was uncommon in the Ottoman lands: apart from the Nile and the Danube along with its tributaries, navigation was limited to a short stretch of the Büyük Menderes and – to a certain extent – the Euphrates and Tigris. In this context Ahmed Resmî also discussed the different types of boats in use on the rivers of Northern Europe, including their Ottoman names and emphasizing that as the countryside was relatively secure, these slow boats sometimes carried raw materials right to the workshops where they were needed. However, the ambassador felt that due to the 'unbelief' of the inhabitants, God had refused to bless their hard work and even their honesty in matters of trade, for in the course of his travels Ahmed Resmî had encountered a great many poor people.

In the late 1700s Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807), who had recently ascended the Ottoman throne, decided to send some of his close associates on missions to European capitals. These men were to collect information about institutions that might be useful to the Ottoman Empire as well.[42] Ebubekir Ratib Efendi (1749–99, see Chapter 1) went to Vienna and came back with a stack of military information, but also with data on trade.[43] In collecting this information during the few months of his stay in Vienna (1792) Ebubekir Ratib was assisted by a number of well-informed people, some of them Ottomans and others Habsburg subjects.

Among the former, the most prominent was the writer and diplomat

Mouradgea d'Ohsson, who was fluent in French, had served the Swedish ambassador as a dragoman and was very familiar with the Ottoman administration of the eighteenth century.[44]

Apparently Ebubekir Ratib Efendi had hoped that his report would result in immediate practical measures, especially in the training of soldiers, which he discussed in detail on the basis mostly of Austrian sources. As far as possible he therefore had visited the relevant institutions during his stay in Vienna. However, no such reforms occurred, partly because of janissary opposition and partly due to the constant rivalries among the advisors of Sultan Selim. These intrigues resulted first in the author's banishment to Rhodes, and three years later, in his execution.[45] His great report gathered dust on the shelves of a few Istanbul libraries.

Ebubekir Ratib Efendi focused on military and commercial matters, and his interest in the sciences was limited: while he visited a collection of 'natural curiosities' in Pest (today: Budapest), he did not feel the need to study these matters in detail. By contrast he was remarkably interested in cultural institutions; thus in his shorter report he included a description of the training of secretaries who were to work for the Habsburg diplomatic service, including some complimentary remarks on the young students' knowledge of Ottoman Turkish.[46] On his way to Vienna he stopped in Sibiu and later on in Temeşvar (today: Timişoara), by that time a Habsburg possession. In both towns the ambassador visited the local theatre and commented on the similarities between the operatic stage and its wings on the one hand, and the Ottoman shadow plays (*hayal*) on the other.[47]

The author does not explain why he spent quite a bit of time and effort on matters which after all were not really relevant to the aims of his mission. But perhaps Selim III, who was an esteemed composer of Ottoman classical music, had asked his ambassador to pay special attention to theatres, academies and libraries. Ebubekir Ratib was interested in European painting, and when it came to music, he engaged in what today we would call cultural diplomacy. Thus, having heard that certain noblemen from Pressburg (today: Bratislava) had expressed an interest in Ottoman music, he organized performances on a stringed instrument (*saz*) that he had had the foresight to bring from Istanbul. These concerts had been very successful and some of the noblemen invited had reciprocated by having their own musicians play for him.[48] This account seems realistic, for Ebubekir was in Vienna at a time when 'Oriental' music was *en vogue*. However, in the Habsburg domains, people had only encountered janissary tunes, which Ottoman connoisseurs regarded as 'coarse', while Ebubekir's musicians played sophisticated chamber music that must have been a complete novelty. It would be good to

know the names of the noblemen with whom Ebubekir engaged in 'cultural diplomacy'; perhaps eventually we will be able to find out, now that historians have become interested in this versatile figure.

The first permanent embassies

In the closing years of his reign Selim III decided to send ambassadors to four European capitals: they were to spend several years in Paris, London, Vienna and Berlin. From a political perspective this attempt was not very successful: after the final loss of Crimea (around 1781) and the Napoleonic occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), the Ottoman Empire was in an extremely difficult position, and the status of the Sultan's ambassadors suffered accordingly. Moreover, the new envoys had no diplomatic experience and very little money at their disposal.

However, Selim III had chosen some clever and highly educated men.[49] Aziz Efendi, who was sent to Berlin and died there in 1798, was an excellent writer of prose, an art form which had not been much in favour earlier on, as poetry was the preferred mode of literary expression. Posthumously, in the mid-1800s Aziz Efendi's work came to be very successful among Istanbul literati; today his stories are regarded as early versions of the Ottoman Turkish novel.[50] It is a great pity that Aziz Efendi did not use his experiences in Berlin as a subject for one of his literary works.

In the early 1800s the Ottoman ambassador to Paris was Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, by training a religious scholar and by inclination a man who thought in terms of systems and interconnections. During the five years that he spent in Paris (1806–11), he had ample occasion for observation, as his sovereigns Selim III and later Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) as well as Napoleon, to whom he was accredited, more or less 'forgot' about him. When it came to selecting which kinds of knowledge to write about, Abdürrahim Efendi developed novel criteria. Increasingly he moved away from the format adopted by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi in the 1720s, which eighteenth-century Ottoman ambassadors visiting Europe long had regarded as normative. Thus Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi did not describe any visits to the porcelain factory of Sèvres or the 'Manufacture des Gobelins' in Paris, probably because he knew that the products of these luxury workshops were not of much practical importance in an Ottoman environment.[51] To justify this change of emphasis, the author explicitly pointed out that times had changed. In the last ninety years or so, many new inventions had been made, and other recent developments demanded the attention of readers and writers. Moreover, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi had not provided any information on the manner in which France was governed; nor had he

described the technologies in common use. But it was exactly this kind of information that readers of the 1800s would have to assimilate.[52]

In consequence Abdürrahim Efendi discussed the administration of Paris, the courts of law as well as the post office and the use of money. He also visited textile and other factories, whenever Napoleon's bureaucrats were willing to let him in. Abdürrahim Efendi was very much aware of the crucial role of money. As he informed his readers, it was necessary to pay fees for all sorts of activities to the great advantage of the public treasury. But as prices and fees were publicly announced, they were not matters of dispute and thus the users saved quite a lot of time.[53] The author also was convinced that communications were an important factor in securing material progress; in this context he noted that merchants and other people not part of the state apparatus could use the public post. He extensively described the recently founded Conservatoire des Métiers, where people interested in technologies and instruments could find out what had been done in their chosen fields. Abdürrahim Efendi explained how this new institution ensured that people did not re-invent what was already available, and introduced his readers to the concept of industrial patents. Evidently the author wanted to promote the encouragement of inventive people in the Ottoman world as well; thus he regretted that a certain Arakel, about whom he does not provide any details but who must have been an Armenian, had not received any help in developing his talents.[54]

When visiting enterprises and institutions the author often formulated precise questions which he hoped to answer on the basis of his on-site observations. He thus by far transcended the more or less passive viewing of 'natural marvels' to which Ebubekir Ratib apparently had limited his tour of duty in the natural history collection of Pest. Therefore when Abdürrahim Efendi visited a workshop that produced printed fabrics, he wanted to know how it was possible to arrange the different plates in such a manner that the joints between them remained invisible and the result resembled a painting.[55] The author then organized his description in such a way as to highlight and bring together those features of the printing process that might provide an answer to his question. Moreover, differently from most of his predecessors, Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi to a certain extent was interested in the scientific basis of technological novelties. Thus he briefly discussed questions in the field of chemistry on which French scientists were currently working, although the focus was always on practical applicability. In this context he also explained how chemistry differed from alchemy.[56] In this sense Abdürrahim Efendi appeared as a predecessor of the numerous Ottoman subjects who from the mid-1800s onward studied medicine or technical

subjects in Paris.

In conclusion

The present chapter is a sketch, and therefore the results point in different directions, as is common when a research field is in the initial phases of development. During the last decades of the seventeenth century, which immediately preceded the period studied here, the observations of Evliya Çelebi in his novelistic description of Vienna indicated some of the directions that later descriptions were to take as well: musical and medical instruments, as well as architecture feature prominently in his report.

Where the question of genre was concerned, Evliya used the trope of the 'skilful unbeliever', capable of building and inventing to make this life more agreeable, as, after all, paradise would be denied to him; the history of this mode of depiction in the Ottoman world has not yet been studied. The trope of the 'skilful unbeliever' stood Evliya in good stead when describing the allegedly fabulous skills of Viennese surgeons, painters or musicians. Probably this imagery underlay many of Evliya's descriptions: those that were reasonably close to reality and others that were completely fanciful. In his emphasis on material culture and the skills connected with it, Evliya was a pioneer, and in recent years scholars have come to appreciate that while this Ottoman traveller was a great imaginative writer – and a poor historian – evidently his artistic sense sharpened his capacity for observation and his responses to the things and people that he saw.

Our discussion has also shown that changes in the image of Europe among educated Ottomans occurred mostly in the second half of the eighteenth century; the reign of Ahmed III was thus much less important than had previously been assumed. In this sense Şirin's periodization seems to require some modification, particularly since certain art historians also now tend to play down the importance of the so-called'Tulip Age'.[57] However, these remarks do not imply that the fine arts and literature in the widest sense, including embassy reports, necessarily move in tandem; although'period styles' have been identified in certain times and at certain places, it is doubtful that such parallels between – for example – architecture and prose literature existed in the Ottoman world.

If we look at the actors involved in producing an Ottoman image of Europe – and the envoys studied here surely were key actors – it is worth rethinking the role of religious scholars. Both Nuʿmân Efendi and Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi were *medrese*-trained. But this education did not prevent them from acquiring scientific knowledge within or outside the school curriculum and even developing an

interest in communication with non-Muslims sharing their interests. To deal with this issue, we need to find out more about the networks in which scientific knowledge was disseminated in Istanbul before and after 1800; this question recently has aroused some interest, but a great deal more remains to be done. Moreover, it would be useful to follow in detail how Ottoman observers in Paris or Berlin developed a concern for 'systemic connections' in trade, communications by canals or rivers, the postal service or the use of money. Both Ahmed Resmî and particularly Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi were well aware of such inter-connections and made major efforts to render them familiar to their readers.

In the long run it would be desirable to put together a systematic inventory of all discussions of European material culture found in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century embassy accounts. The present chapter has presented no more than a selection from those authors whose works have been published; but in addition to texts available in old or recent editions, there are reports that remain in manuscript and therefore have not even been touched upon here. In any case, it is not necessary to limit the inventory to the accounts of envoys: at least in the earlier 1800s other Ottoman authors also produced travel accounts that now are increasingly becoming the subject of serious research. In pursuing these lines of study it will be possible to build on the important work of İbrahim Şirin and others to gain a more realistic and encompassing view of the manner in which Ottoman intellectuals viewed their neighbours in Central, Western and Eastern Europe.

In this context it makes sense to return to the role of the traveller, for as books and engravings featuring European material culture were in limited supply, travelling beyond the Ottoman borders was an unparalleled source of information on French gardens, Austrian surveying instruments, or Transylvanian organs. Apart from the observations of Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, who became – even if temporarily – a resident of Paris, all the information discussed here was collected by people 'passing through' and relayed in the format of the travelogue. Evliya Çelebi, as perhaps one of the most artistically minded among the authors studied here, had an especially well-developed sense of place and of travel: he viewed Vienna as a site that the much-venerated Sultan Süleyman Kanuni/the Magnificent had once honoured with his presence, and mementoes of the first siege of Vienna (1529) featured among the 'touristic sites' that Evliya proposed to his readers, who in the fullness of time might well travel to a city that recently had become part of the Ottoman dominions.

CHAPTER 3

‘Seeking refuge in the Sultan’s shadow’: asylum seekers on Ottoman territory

In the present chapter we will deal with the political problems connected to the reception of refugees and fugitives on the territories of the Ottoman sultans, and in some instances, concern ourselves with the ultimate integration of these new arrivals. As to the legal aspects, they will have to be treated by a specialist. We are left to wonder whether sometimes applications for asylum were rejected; however, on this issue the records accessible to date are virtually silent.

As asylum-seekers necessarily arrived from foreign principalities and empires, in the best of cases there survives a double documentation, both Ottoman and non-Ottoman. Wars, persecutions and expulsions, the typical reasons why men and women of the early sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries departed from the countries in which they had been born, will normally be discussed in the records of the places of origin, such as the kingdoms of Spain and Hungary. As to the Ottoman side, archival documents and narrative texts should reflect the considerations that prompted rulers and high-level administrators to accept certain refugees on the sultans’ territories, eventually to employ them in some capacity or other, and in certain cases to assign them specific places of residence.

As anybody with experience in the archives knows, in practice the available documentation is much less orderly. And as we can only discuss cases that are reasonably well documented, we will find ourselves treating a rather disparate collection of individuals, families and, in addition, a few more substantial groups who sought refuge in the lands of the sultans during the early modern period. The oldest cases are linked to the completion of the Reconquista in 1492, and thus to the end of Muslim principalities on the Spanish peninsula, for this event was the starting point for the expulsion of the Jewish and Muslim minorities. The most recent examples will date from the late eighteenth century, when the Russian conquest of the Crimea brought

a number of Tatar aristocrats to the Ottoman lands.

From the political viewpoint we will thus be dealing with three periods: scholars – and Turkish schoolbooks – distinguish a time-span in which the empire expanded in a dramatic fashion, particularly during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–66), followed by a period in which conquests were largely made at the expense of secondary powers such as Venice or Poland (1570–1670). In addition we will deal with a third period, in which territorial losses had begun to occur (1680s to 1780s). Yet, as we will see, this sequence of expansion and contraction was not very relevant to our topic: the Ottoman realm continued to attract refugees throughout all three periods, and, in fact, well beyond the time-span covered here.

Jews and baptized Jews (Marranos) formed one of the largest groups of refugees entering the Ottoman territories; they arrived at the very end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century as well. But the fate of these people, already quite well studied, necessitates knowledge of Ladino and Hebrew; therefore the present author is unable to deal with this topic and can only refer to the work of Minna Rozen, Benjamin Arbel and others.[1] In addition there is the story of the Morisco refugees from Spain: the integration of this Muslim group into what was becoming an Ottoman provincial society in North Africa will form our first topic.[2]

A further group of significant size and political importance were the Sunni refugees from Safavid Iran, who were sometimes the victims of religious persecution and sometimes probably aimed at public careers that were not open to them in their homelands unless they professed allegiance to the Shia. A borderline case involved the Central Asian dervishes, who occasionally appeared in the Ottoman Empire in order to perform the pilgrimage. Given the length of their journey these men spent years on the sultans' territory and sometimes died there. Just getting to the Ottoman lands involved such an extraordinary effort on their part that it is legitimate to ask whether some of them were not in fact refugees; unfortunately in most cases the paucity of sources seems to preclude any definite answer, and we will leave aside this issue as well.

Secondly we will put together the rather limited amount of information on the young Spaniards and Italians who, as individuals without their families, came to the Ottoman territories in search of a better life. While many of the *renegati* who populated Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli had originally arrived in the Ottoman territories as slaves, here we will only deal with those who came voluntarily.

A third section will concern itself with another type of individuals – and sometimes families – seeking asylum 'in the shade of the sultan's throne', but situated much higher on the socio-political scale and thus

often relatively well documented. These were the members of royal/princely dynasties, and also courtiers and high-level military men who arrived in the Ottoman Empire as fugitives. Some of them had lost out in factional struggles in their own countries. Others, like the Tatars already mentioned, had been driven away by the conquest of the state that they had once ruled on the part of a foreign power, in this particular instance, the Russian Tsarina Catherine II. In the period before 1800 the Tatar elite emigrated because the new regime soon excluded them even from local administration, often using the pretext that the Tatar nobility did not know Russian; in the nineteenth century peasants also emigrated, mainly due to economic pressures.[3]

Such refugees might come from both Eastern and Western courts. Thus arrivals from Muslim lands included the Indian princes, princesses and courtiers whose place of exile was typically Mecca, under Ottoman control since 1517. As to the Safavid ruling dynasty of Iran, competition between princes resulted in one spectacular case of defection, namely when Elkâs Mîrzâ appeared at the court of Süleyman the Magnificent. Among those arriving from the West, we have chosen three prominent examples: Ferenc II Rákóczi, the exiled prince of Transylvania (1676–1735), the Swedish king Charles XII (r. 1697–1718) and the Marquis de Bonneval, who became Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa (1675–1747); differently from the two others, the latter made a career in the Ottoman lands.

Through our study, we hope to demonstrate how the sultans and their high officials viewed the arrival of outsiders, in other words we will highlight the Ottoman point of view wherever possible. Unfortunately there are some difficulties with this approach, for the number of documents or chronicles in which issues linked to asylum-seeking refugees are explicitly discussed is relatively small. Some conclusions can be drawn from the references that have been tracked down to date. Especially where the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are concerned, we will principally base our conclusions upon the concrete measures which the Ottoman administration devised in order to handle the manifold problems resulting from the immigration of various refugees. As the sultans' bureaucrats of that time were not much given to discussing why they proceeded in this or that fashion, we cannot often discuss policy on the basis of explicit statements, but must look at what the Ottomans did in practice and draw our own conclusions. Of course the results obtained in this manner will always remain tentative.

Group arrivals: Morisco refugees from Spain in Tunis and Istanbul

In the years around 1500, strong pressures to convert were being brought to bear on the Muslims of Spain by both Church and state; placed before the choice of leaving the country or accepting baptism, most of them converted during those years.[4] However, in practice these *Cristianos nuevos*, or Moriscos, continued to live in separate communities, and while some individuals, especially from the upper levels of society, chose to assimilate, the majority held on to the requirements of Islamic belief and ritual as best they could. There was also piecemeal emigration, mostly to North Africa, by groups who organized their own transportation or else made use of corsair ships cruising close to the Mediterranean coasts. Thus Moriscos had already begun to arrive in Tunis well before the two conquests of that city by the Ottomans, first in 1570 and finally in 1574. Especially, the failed uprising in the Alpujarras (1568–70) resulted in a wave of emigration to North African ports. Moreover, a sizeable number, probably around 300,000, fled mostly to the Ottoman lands when all Moriscos were driven out of Spain between 1609 and 1614.[5] Some of them even made their way to Istanbul.

It is rather obvious that Selim II (r. 1566–74) accorded only very limited support to the uprising in the Alpujarras.[6] While in Spain there was much concern about a possible landing of the Ottoman fleet, in real life the sultan gave priority to conquests closer to home, such as Spanish-occupied Tunis and particularly Cyprus (1570–73), which happened to be a Venetian possession and did not belong to the king of Spain. Apparently the sultans and the Spanish kings both tended to avoid campaigns in the heartlands of their respective opponents: similarly to what Selim II did, or rather omitted to do, in the Spanish peninsula, Philip II, whom the French did not nickname *le roi prudent* without reason, avoided all involvement in the Balkans, even when during the Long War between the Austrian Habsburgs and the Ottomans (1593–1606) he was bombarded with counsels suggesting otherwise.[7]

This brings us to the question of how the Morisco refugees were received in the Ottoman Empire. Apparently those who landed in Tunis fared best, while those who arrived in the smaller ports or even on deserted coasts of northern Africa faced severe hardships. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Tunis was a city with significant potential for both commerce and crafts, with productive lands close by that could be taken over by those new arrivals who had been agriculturists back in Spain.[8] As this was a new Ottoman province that the governors sent out from Istanbul were called upon to populate and re-organize, immigrants may well have received some help in inserting themselves, while this was not true of the more remote areas. An important industry established by the newcomers was the

manufacture of bonnets (*chechias*), which in the long run came to be exported all over the Muslim Mediterranean.[9] Apparently those immigrants who came from the same parts of Spain tended to settle together in separate town quarters, an arrangement that was practised for instance by immigrating Jews as well. To what extent directives from the Ottoman centre determined the newcomers' modes of settlement is still an unsolved problem; the chancery registers of the years around 1600 do not contain a great deal of information, and local archives seem to be unavailable.[10]

Sunnis from Safavid Iran

Whether we are here dealing with group arrivals similar to those of the Spanish Jews, Marranos and Moriscos, remains a matter for discussion. Some of these former subjects of the Safavids arrived as single households and sometimes perhaps even as individuals, rather than in large compact groups. But as this was also true of some of the Spanish Jews, and of those Moriscos who came before 1609–14, we will here stress the collective identity of these new arrivals; for it was as a group that they were quite often perceived in Ottoman sources.

As background information we need to keep in mind that while the differences between Sunnis and Shiites went back to the early history of Islam, in the sixteenth century, these matters took on a political relevance they had rarely possessed in earlier periods. With Shiism being turned into a state religion in Iran, it made sense for local Sunnis to emigrate and try their luck in the lands governed by the sultan, while the Ottoman rulers in the sixteenth century aggressively defined themselves as protectors of Sunni right belief and – evidence to the contrary notwithstanding – all their Muslim subjects as faithful Sunnis. The situation was further complicated by Ottoman conquests in the Caucasus, in addition to Shirvan and even Tabriz: while these were largely temporary acquisitions, the Ottoman presence did result in applications on the part of Sunni Muslim military men seeking careers in the sultans' service.[11] Once these Iranian conquests had been lost, the men in question would have had no alternative but to continue seeking their fortunes in lands remaining under the sultans' control. Some of them also may have fled because their loyalty to the Safavids had now been compromised.

Educated personages from the Safavid territories possessed a career advantage because they were familiar with Persian literature, and this cultural attainment was highly prized in Ottoman bureaucratic circles. At the same time, the rapid careers that some of these immigrants were able to make did result in resentment among their Ottoman-born competitors. Thus in the late sixteenth century, the historian and

litterateur Mustafa ‘Âlî had few good things to say about the literary qualifications of most of the *şehnamecis*, men of Persian-speaking backgrounds whose duty it was to extol the heroic deeds of the current sultans in works modelled on early Iranian epics. Even worse, when discussing a governor from this milieu that he did not care for, ‘Âlî insinuated that this man might harbour heretical beliefs, an accusation that would have got the accused into serious trouble if ‘Âlî’s claims had been believed.[12] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were further distinguished emigrants from the Iranian world who made reputations for themselves in Istanbul, but it is often difficult to decide whether they had come as refugees, or else with the aim of building a career or breaking ground for a new dervish order. Mixed motives must have been common enough.

Inhabitants of the Mediterranean world in search of a better life – notably freedom from religious persecution

When we take a look at the mountains of literature about the Ottoman Empire written in Europe between about 1500 and 1700, those that describe the sultans’ domain as a veritable hell for Christians are abundant. But during the last twenty years or so, specialists on early modern European mentalities have pointed out that for certain subjects of Christian rulers, the Ottoman lands also held considerable attraction. Especially, Italian historians have made this point: in many social situations, ‘*mi faccio Turco*’ was a convincing threat because it was evident to speakers and listeners alike that such a move could in fact be attractive.[13]

After all, in most European societies during the early modern period, it was difficult if not impossible to leave the estate into which one had been born, and not only was social mobility so difficult to achieve, it was officially frowned upon. High offices in the Catholic Church, where in theory one might have expected meritocratic principles to be of greater importance than elsewhere, in practice were largely monopolized by various aristocracies: noble families had little trouble in getting their sons appointed to bishoprics even when the young gentlemen’s commitment to religion was practically non-existent.[14] Enlisting as a mercenary also offered but few realistic chances of social betterment, as most regiments were put together by ‘military enterprisers’ who were nobles or at least members of the gentry, and would not have offered much opportunity for commoners to advance, even if the latter had shown special military talent.

On the other hand, entering the household of an Ottoman dignitary, as a mercenary or sometimes even as a slave, might allow the person in question, if he was lucky, to rise in society. Members of modest

Italian or Polish families thus might be able to turn themselves into high-level dignitaries in the Ottoman palace and administration. Given the conditions under which commoners in early modern Europe often had to live, it is perfectly defensible to include those who ran off to the Ottomans in the number of 'legitimate' refugees, namely as people who fled from lives of appalling poverty and drudgery. *Mutatis mutandis* we might compare them to those men and women who in our own day, try to enter the United States or the European Union because living conditions in their own countries are so discouraging.

Examples of this kind have come to light largely through the study of Inquisition documents that has been undertaken mainly by French and Italian scholars, but also by work on the documents left by secular authorities in Venice.[15] In Inquisition archives there survive trial records of men who had spent time in the Ottoman Empire without being merchants, embassy personnel or gentlemen travelling for their private instruction. In terms of occupation, it was thus former slaves, along with occasional soldiers once in Ottoman service, who formed the most important category of men appearing before the Inquisition tribunals. These former denizens of the Islamic world, usually of modest backgrounds, upon their return were supposed to satisfy the court with respect to their constant adherence to the Catholic faith. Or else if they had been converted to Islam and could not hide the fact, they needed to convince the judges that they had acted under duress.

Certainly the Inquisition did not expect special heroism from prisoners under strong pressure to convert, and was quite ready to re-integrate those men – women being at issue but rarely – who could reasonably claim to have yielded to *force majeure*. Those who got into serious trouble were either men who had borne arms against Christians, or else had become convinced Muslims and were unwilling to conceal the fact. Deserting soldiers, not rare among the underfed Spanish garrisons in North Africa, were also at risk if ever they fell into the hands of the king whom they had originally served. As so many people appearing before the Inquisition courts had first come to the Ottoman lands as captives, the relevant records are mostly marginal to the question that concerns us here. Yet they do contain some cases 'involving voluntary migration'. Thus we hear of a young man who fled from the boat of a French captain who was fishing for coral near Tunis after a violent dispute with his superior, and also of a Franciscan friar who voluntarily embarked on an Ottoman galley and was captured while serving as a janissary; this friar was by no means the only cleric who had come to prefer life in the Islamic world.[16]

By contrast, documents surviving in the Venetian archives reflect a rather different reality, for in times of peace, the Signoria was anxious to maintain good relations with the Ottoman sultans. The Venetian

government threatened people who entered the service of the sultan and converted to Islam with the confiscation of their properties; but official concern with the sultan's reaction might mean that this rule was waived in practice. On the contrary, such border-crossers, if successful, might even employ their influence at the Ottoman court in order to obtain advantages for their relatives back in Venice.[17]

As to the Ottoman bureaucracy, we already have had occasion to note that it had but little to say about those people who came to the sultans' realm in search of a better life. Our ignorance is compounded by the fact that in Ottoman society, it was not considered polite to refer to the 'filthy infidel' ancestors of a Muslim. Therefore converts to Islam were identified by their Muslim names plus generic patronymics meaning 'servant of God', such as Abdullah; the latter name could also be the given name of a Muslim. As the non-Muslim names of converts thus were almost never mentioned in Ottoman documents, the best we can do is to reconstruct the biographies of a few such refugees, and in this fashion, try to gain some understanding of how patronage relations might promote a former refugee's ascent within a palace, military or bureaucratic career. But given the as yet embryonic stage of Ottoman prosopography, this has not as yet been attempted on any major scale. However, it would appear that for those who really wanted to 'make it big', it was better to arrive as a young and gifted slave than as a volunteer, who necessarily was of more mature years and thus disadvantaged when it came to adapting to the Ottoman milieu.

Certainly, upward social mobility, which usually implied moving from the taxpaying class into tax-exempt officialdom, was not uncontested in Ottoman society either. Thus according to numerous edicts emitted in the sultans' names, peasants were expected to stay in their villages and could be called back by local administrators if they left without permission. Holders of military tax assignments, who had been awarded their grants for bravery but who lacked the appropriate family backgrounds, were liable to lose their prebends whenever the requisite registers were checked. As to the well-known author Mustafâ 'Âlî, he had nasty things to say about people who tried to enter the Ottoman administration without belonging to the milieu of officialdom by birth.[18] But such details would not have been known to many of the young men who contemplated moving from Southern or Central Europe into the Ottoman realm, and our sources do not tell us whether some hopeful career-seekers ultimately were disappointed with what they were able to achieve.

Some of the voluntary migrants probably left their homes because they had got themselves into trouble with the powers-that-be in lands where the Counter-Reformation was dominant, but it is almost

impossible to obtain evidence on this matter. Usually groups of Protestants or Anti-Trinitarians, who had to leave Habsburg-controlled territories or else Poland after the Counter-Reformation had begun in this kingdom as well, went to Protestant territories rather than to the Ottoman Empire. Individuals living in close proximity to the Ottoman border may have fled to the sultans' territories, but this was not a matter that their fellow believers would have been anxious to publicize, as such a gesture would have resulted in a loss of face on the part of the entire group. Given the lack of information in Ottoman records, it is very possible that the Transylvanian İbrahim Müteferrika (about 1670–1745) had a Unitarian background and perhaps sympathized with Islam even before he fled to the Ottomans, but these assumptions can neither be proved nor disproved.[19] In a similar vein, while returnees may have made statements in front of the Inquisition that from a Catholic viewpoint appeared heretical, this fact does not allow us to determine whether these people had had such beliefs before fleeing to the Ottoman lands, or whether they had come to view Islam with sympathy because of positive experiences during their stay.[20]

Men and women of high degree: Indian princes and ex-courtiers in the Hejaz

Already in the fourteenth century representatives of the Bahmanid dynasty of the Deccan had visited Mecca as pilgrims and established a presence through alms-giving and the construction of lodgings for the poor. Members of princely families that had been unable to ascend the throne or else maintain themselves as rulers sometimes took refuge in Mecca; this was true of Sultan Shams al-dîn Davud II, who had occupied the throne for a few months in 1397 and lived as an expatriate in the Holy City until 1414. After the dynasty had been overthrown in 1538, a son of the last ruler Kalîmullâh also appeared in Mecca, by now an Ottoman possession, and there lived out his life.[21]

Once the Moghul Empire controlled the north of India, the custom of sending troublesome personages to faraway Mecca also became current in Delhi and Agra. The best-known case was that of Prince Kâmrân, a son of the emperor Babur, who after several rebellions was blinded by his half-brother Humâyûn (r. 1530–43 and 1554–6) and then retired to Mecca, where he died in 1557.[22] The Moghul prince was accompanied by his wife Mâh Čičak Begâm Arghûn, who had refused to abandon her husband and survived him by only a few months. Kâmrân's younger brother 'Askarî, who had governed Afghanistan on behalf of his brother for a while, also was ultimately

packed off to Mecca.[23]

Under Humâyûn's son Akbar (r. 1556–1605) it was no longer members of the royal family who were banished to Mecca, but rather courtiers who had fallen from favour, including *'ulemâ* and dervishes. This was at least in part connected to Akbar's attempts to establish a new syncretistic religion that he called *dîn-i illâhî* and that was meant to gain him the loyalty of his Hindu subjects. However, this experiment sparked a great deal of opposition among Muslims apparently, without adding much to Moghul legitimacy among Hindus; accordingly, after Akbar's death his successors returned to'standard' Sunni Islam. While this ruler was alive, several people who had voiced their opposition to the *dîn-i illâhî* were banished to the Hejaz, and told to not return to India before they had obtained the ruler's permission to do so. The scholar and courtier 'Abdunnabî disregarded this warning and was killed in 1584 after an unauthorized return. 'Abdullâh Sultânpûrî was another scholar who had at one time been close to the court, but then had fallen foul of the ruler: he was reportedly killed after his return to India, or perhaps died under unknown circumstances, because while in Mecca, he had accused Akbar of heterodoxy.[24]

In other instances courtiers who disagreed with Akbar's religious policies apparently withdrew to Mecca on their own initiative; this was the solution preferred by one of the senior figures among the Čishtiyya dervishes, an order that was otherwise close to the Moghul court.[25] In addition, the practice of banishing 'undesirable' members of the elite to Mecca did not cease with Akbar's death. Thus under the latter's grandson Shâh Djahân (r. 1628–58) Sheik Adam Banûrî, one of the most prominent representatives of the Indian Naqshbandiyya-Mudjaddadiyya movement, had to beat a hasty retreat to the Hejaz. Apparently the emperor had taken offence at the Sheik's claims to be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and on a more practical level was concerned about the large retinue of warlike Afghans that the sheik had assembled. Possibly Sheik Adam's attempts to preach in the imperial camp had brought the conflict into the open. Although some contemporary sources claimed that a reconciliation took place later on, this seems to have been an over-optimistic view of the situation.[26] Banishing noblemen and religious figures to Mecca continued through the reign of Aurangzeb (r. 1659–1707).

For the time being, we do not know of any official Ottoman reaction to this centuries-long practice, which must have resulted in sizeable groups of Indians residing in the Holy City at any one time. To date we have no evidence that any person from this group ever left the Hejaz to try for a career in Cairo or Istanbul. Normally pilgrims were encouraged to leave Mecca as soon as they had completed their

religious duties, but an exception must have been made for the benefit of exiled Moghul dignitaries.[27] Did silence mean relative indifference to the 'Indian connection', or have the relevant documents simply been lost?

A Safavid prince

Even apart from the Indian case, it was not unusual in the sixteenth-century Islamic world for members of reigning dynasties who had lost out in struggles for the throne to seek refuge at foreign courts. Such fugitives normally did not regard the place to which they had fled as merely a secure haven for themselves and their families, but rather were actively engaged in a struggle for their positions back home. This meant that they needed to mobilize support at the court hosting them, which went beyond the mere granting of asylum. In this undertaking the second Moghul emperor Humâyûn was quite successful, for after a long exile in Iran, he managed to regain his father's throne; he had needed to become a Shiite in order to secure Safavid support. But his case was the exception proving the rule: the son of Süleyman the Magnificent, Prince Bayezid, fled to the court of Shah Tahmâsp, but while in Iran was killed at the instigation of his father and brother (1562). Obviously the Shah was more interested in maintaining reasonably good relations with Süleyman than in protecting a powerless refugee.[28]

Nor was Alqas Mîrzâ (1516–50), the son of Shah Ismâ'îl I, more fortunate when in 1547, after an unsuccessful revolt against his half-brother Tahmâsp, he fled to the Crimea and from there to Ottoman territory.[29] Upon arrival he immediately offered to recognize the Ottoman ruler as his suzerain if the latter was willing to support him. Against the advice of some of his viziers Sultan Süleyman accepted this offer, and postponed a projected campaign in Hungary in favour of an immediate Iranian war.[30] However, Alqas Mîrzâ proved unable to dislodge his brother from the latter's capital of Isfahan and returned to the Ottoman lands, only to find that his support at the sultan's court, not too solid even previously, had completely disappeared. Well aware of this situation, the Safavid prince negotiated both with his enthroned brother and with Süleyman, thus becoming a major player in the Ottoman–Safavid rivalry over the Kurdish principalities of eastern Anatolia.

Apparently the grand vizier Rüstem Paşa in 1549 managed to persuade the sultan to break off relations with Alqas Mîrzâ, who thus had no option but to return to Iran: the unlucky prince was thrown into jail, and a few months later killed by some of his personal enemies, perhaps with the connivance of the Shah. From our

perspective, the most important feature of this affair was that Alqas Mîrzâ appeared as a political player and not as an exile who had thrown himself and his family upon the Sultan's mercy; when he was unable to deliver upon his promises, the Sultan evidently saw no reason for continuing to protect him. Whatever their other disagreements, in this matter Sultan Süleyman and Shah Tahmâsp saw eye to eye.

The Tatar aristocracy of the Crimea in Istanbul

As it became clear that the Ottomans were losing the war of 1768–74 against the Russians, Tsarina Catherine II demanded that the centuries-old subordination of the Crimean khanate to the Ottoman sultans should cease. According to Russian war aims, the khanate was to become an 'independent' state governed by a member of the ruling dynasty of the Girays, by the name of Şahin Giray, who was willing to accept Catherine's tutelage in exchange for the chance to establish himself as a'modern-style' absolutist ruler.[31] However, Şahin Giray was quite unable to gain a permanent base for himself in the khanate, and in 1783 his state was annexed to the Russian empire. Şahin Giray ultimately fled to the Ottoman lands, but Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89) had him executed in 1787, just a few months after his arrival.[32]

Before 1768 the rule had been that the sultans chose the khans, but always from the same princely dynasty; as a result, members of the Giray family with hopes of becoming the khans of the future often had spent time in Istanbul. However, during the years of instability, while the peace of Küçük Kaynarca was being negotiated and signed, and later on during the reign of Şahin Giray, a much larger group of Tatar nobles, including several former khans, established themselves in the Ottoman capital. Given the Russian conquest of the Crimea during the early 1770s, these people certainly must count as refugees. But in addition they were a political force, as they were able to forge alliances with Istanbul janissaries and low-level men of religion, with the aim of preventing the Sultan from acquiescing to Crimean 'independence'. However, there was also significant opposition to this policy: a vocal section of the Ottoman elite believed that the Sultan would gain nothing and risk much by continuing the war. A representative of this latter group, the scholarly diplomat Ahmed Resmî in caustic terms expressed his opinion that the Tatar exiles had no understanding of the military situation, were mainly interested in enjoying the Sultan's bounty as long as possible and, in short, should not be listened to.[33]

Men of high degree: some borderline cases

Following Ottoman notions of precedence, after discussing Muslim refugees we will now turn to the non-Muslims who took refuge in the sultans' lands. It would be tempting to include here Alvise (Ludovico) Gritti, the well-known illegitimate son of the Venetian *bailo* and later Doge Andrea Gritti. But so much about Alvise Gritti is doubtful, and that includes his qualifications to be considered a supplicant and refugee in Istanbul. As Alvise seems to have had a mother who was an Istanbul Christian and thus a subject of the sultan, at the Ottoman court he was probably regarded as a *zimmi*, or non-Muslim subject. Yet we may assume that his father Andrea Gritti did not see the matter in this light, for when the Ottomans and the Venetians were at war, he made every effort to induce his son to join him in Venice.[34] From a Venetian viewpoint, Alvise Gritti was doubtless a subject of the Signoria, and thus his decision to stay in Istanbul could be interpreted as treason. Or else people who were more sympathetic to Alvise's aspirations might have regarded his story as one more example of a man thwarted by his own society who 'sought refuge at the sultan's threshold'.

Alvise Gritti himself may well have taken a similar view, but to the frustration of his biographers, he apparently has not left personal statements of any kind. In all likelihood Gritti saw no great prospects for himself in Venice, where his illegitimacy would have precluded membership of the aristocracy and thus a political career for himself and his descendants. He thus preferred to play the Ottoman card. However, this did not work out so well either, although the son of the Doge (*beyoğli* in Turkish) could count on the support of the Grand Vizier Makbul ve Maktul İbrahim Paşa. Sad to say, Ottoman documents on this affair have not so far been located; after all, by the time the first surviving chancery registers were compiled, Gritti was already dead. Towards the end of his life, when he had been appointed viceroy of Hungary and thus was the principal adjunct to King John Zapolya, the son of the Doge seems to have hoped to become a fully fledged king of Hungary under the Sultan's suzerainty. But when Gritti showed up in Transylvania without much official Ottoman support, he was soon killed by local noblemen before the town of Medias, along with his young sons (September 1534).

After the defeat and death of King Louis II of Hungary before Mohacz (1526), two candidates competed for the Hungarian throne, namely Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1503–64) and John Zapolya (1487–1540).[35] The latter came from a noble family of modest means that had been elevated to high status by King Matthias Corvinus; Zapolya's father had developed his connections with those Hungarian magnates

who wanted one of their own number, rather than a foreign ruler, to be elected king. King Louis also had borne the crown of Bohemia, and thus counted as a 'foreign' dynast; with his death most of the magnates and all of the petty nobility felt that now a local aristocrat should be placed on the throne. Zapolya managed to get himself elected with Ottoman support, but was under constant pressure from the Habsburgs. Thus Gritti's principal competitor could also be considered a borderline case, somewhere between a 'real' asylum-seeker and a minor prince aiming for an Ottoman alliance. What is more, Zapolya's moves were reasonably successful, and after his death his widow Isabella, a Polish princess, also invoked Ottoman aid, albeit with a less positive outcome for herself and her son.

Zapolya thus was elected in the fall of 1526 and duly crowned with the crown of St Stephen. His counter-candidate Ferdinand for the time being had few adherents, even though these people did elect their candidate king as well. However, when Ferdinand set out with an important army to conquer 'his' realm, several important adherents of Zapolya changed sides. Presumably they were concerned about the possibility of being caught between the armies of Sultan Süleyman on the one hand, and those of Ferdinand, who in the meanwhile had become king of Bohemia, on the other. One of these noblemen even brought Ferdinand the crown of St Stephen; the Habsburg ruler thus gained further legitimacy as a result of his coronation.

A major defeat then obliged Zapolya to take refuge in Poland, from where he decided to ask for the support of Süleyman the Magnificent. While he did not go to Istanbul in person, in 1527–8 his envoy, a Polish diplomat, arrived at the Ottoman court as a much-publicized supplicant on behalf of his exiled prince. We may thus see Zapolya as an asylum seeker *per procurationem*. His envoy received the sultan's assurance that whatever difficulties might ensue, Süleyman would not abandon his ally. This promise, and thus Ottoman backing, was what gained John Zapolya a large part of the kingdom of Hungary, which he continued to rule until his death in 1540.

However, shortly after his demise a son was born to Zapolya, who was proclaimed by some noblemen as the new Hungarian king. In the resulting confusion, Hungary came to be divided into three parts: two of them were directly ruled by the sultan and the Habsburgs respectively, although Ferdinand paid tribute to the sultan for 'royal' Hungary. In addition there was Transylvania, where a prince also owing tribute to the Ottomans was installed as *voyvoda*.

Throughout his life Zapolya had manoeuvred between the Habsburgs and Sultan Süleyman, even signing a secret treaty with the former; as to the authorities in Istanbul, they must have known that the allegiance of the Hungarian magnates, and particularly that of

King John himself, was tenuous at best. But Ottoman policy-makers of the sixteenth century tended to assume that if 'unbelievers' had to be recognized as rulers, then in the central European context local princes were a better choice than outside potentates, especially if the latter were members of the Habsburg house or else aligned with it. In the Hungarian context the Ottomans thus agreed with one of the two major parties among the local aristocracy.

From the Sultan's viewpoint it was considered even better if the nobleman to be elected king possessed lands close to the border, for then he might be inclined to accept Istanbul's demands rather than exposing his own lands to severe raiding. Thus in the 1570s when there was some 'international' discussion of a candidate for the Polish throne, the Ottoman authorities stated that in principle they would prefer a native (in this particular instance 'Piast') prince. Only if no local nobleman could gain sufficient support were they willing to accept an outsider, who under no circumstances was to possess any Habsburg allegiances. These were the circumstances that led first to the election as king of Poland of the Valois prince Henri, heir presumptive to the throne of France, and shortly afterwards to the enthronement of Stephen Báthory.[36]

Men of high degree: supplicants and refugees from Christian Europe

If Gritti and Zapolya were borderline cases, who might be considered asylum-seekers only if we adopt a rather wide definition of this term, there were other major political figures who physically appeared in front of the Sultan or Grand Vizier in order to seek protection and asylum. One of them was Ferenc II Rákóczi, descended from a princely family that for much of the seventeenth century had governed Transylvania.[37] Habsburg policies, especially the emperor's conclusion of the peace of Vasvar (1664), which was quite advantageous to the Ottomans in spite of their recent defeat on the river Raab, had resulted in a good deal of disillusionment among Hungarian noblemen. These people felt that the government in Vienna was sacrificing their interests in order to pursue the struggle against Louis XIV of France in faraway Alsace. An anti-Habsburg uprising resulted in full-scale war, led by the Hungarian nobleman Imre Thököly, Ferenc II Rákóczi's stepfather. For a while Thököly received aid from the Ottomans, who appointed him King of Orta Macar, a small territory situated in Habsburg Hungary. However, when Ottoman–Habsburg peace negotiations were initiated in the 1690s, the Ottomans ceased to support Thököly and after 1699 refused to allow him back into Transylvania. Whether Thököly was detained in the

Ottoman Empire or found refuge there remains a point of debate among present-day historians; in any event, he died in Izmit in 1705.[38]

Thököly's political aims were not however forgotten, and from a base in Poland, where he had fled after the failure of a first uprising, in 1703 his stepson Rákóczi rose once again against Leopold I. Shortly afterwards the local estates of Transylvania elected Ferenc Rákóczi as their prince (1704–11): by this time the resident noblemen were thoroughly discontented by the Habsburg military occupation and fiscal exploitation of the principality, and last but not least by Vienna's ecclesiastical policies. Rákóczi attempted to make use of the opportunities that the War of the Spanish Succession (1700–13/4) seemed to provide, by mobilizing French diplomatic and military support in favour of a restored Transylvanian principality. In Rákóczi's project, this state was to be linked to Hungary, also to be re-established, by sharing one and the same prince. Since support for this undertaking was expected largely from Holland and England, Transylvania was to project a Protestant identity, even though Rákóczi himself was a Catholic. However, Rákóczi's army was no match against that of the Habsburgs. English and Dutch mediation proved to be ineffective and by the peace of Sathmar (1711) Transylvania permanently lost its quality as a separate state and became a Habsburg domain.

This meant that Rákóczi was forced into exile once more, and he spent several years at the court in Versailles and elsewhere in France. However, when the Ottomans and Habsburgs were once again at war in 1717, he accepted an invitation from Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) to take an active role in this conflict, and travelled to the Sultan's territory for this purpose. But as peace was signed in 1718, no political activity remained that the deposed prince could usefully have undertaken. His presence was no longer considered desirable in France either, and the Habsburg side wished to keep him far away from Transylvania. In consequence Rákóczi remained in the Ottoman Empire, and a residence was assigned to him in the small town of Tekirdağ, in the immediate vicinity of Istanbul. Here Rákóczi lived for many years with a small suite, which has become famous due to the presence of Kelemen Mikes, one of the luminaries of Hungarian literary prose.[39]

Differently from the personages previously discussed, Rákóczi has left quite a 'paper trail' in Ottoman archives.[40] Some of the surviving documents relate to the years when the prince was still fighting in Transylvania and thus do not concern us here. But there are also texts related to the mission of the Ottoman official who travelled all the way to Marseilles in order to bring the exiled Rákóczi to Edirne,

where the court happened to sojourn at that time. Later on, Ottoman documents show that the sultan was aware of the prince's contacts to the new Bourbon king of Spain, and some texts also discuss plans for a campaign against the Austrians in Transylvania, in which Rákóczi expected to play a prominent role. After all, this possibility was the reason why the Ottoman authorities had gone to considerable trouble and expense in order to bring the prince – whom the sultan considered a king (*kral*) – to Ottoman territory. But when it became apparent that the Ottomans were in no position to continue the war against the Habsburgs, further official documents also recorded the practical arrangements made for the residence of Rákóczi and his suite. Officialdom also made arrangements for the stay on Ottoman territory of several other generals to whom it seemed expedient to grant asylum, but who also were to be kept well away from the frontiers. As to some of Thököly's former soldiers, they were to be established on the crown-lands of Petrofça, where there were many abandoned villages that they might undertake to farm.

It is relevant to our investigation that in 1720, when Rákóczi was finally settled in Tekirdağ, a sultanic command explicitly stated that the 'aforementioned king' was a guest of the Sultan and should be treated with the appropriate respect. Moreover, the letters on the European situation that the exiled prince had sent to Istanbul while still in Europe were read with interest by the Sultan, particularly the recommendation to maintain good relations with France. Later on, the Hungarian group isolated in Tekirdağ must have lost its value as a source of information on European affairs. But long after the deposition of Sultan Ahmed III in 1730 and Rákóczi's own death in 1735, the Ottoman authorities were still paying pensions to those members of the Prince's suite who continued to reside on the sultans' territory.

Prince Ferenc Rákóczi was not considered a king, or even an exiled king, among European rulers, but in the early eighteenth century, the Ottoman court did host a king recognized as such by his fellow European monarchs, namely Charles XII of Sweden.[41] After losing the battle of Poltava (1709) against Tsar Peter I, and having the remainder of his army capitulate a short while later, this ruler arrived on Ottoman territory as a fugitive, with a small force of Swedes, Cossacks, Poles and Vlachs. In his original letter to the Ottoman court the Swedish king only asked to stay on Ottoman territory, neutral at this particular time, for a short period of recuperation. He was assigned a residence near the town of Bender. But in reality the Swedish king – who in spite of being in flight, continued to be viewed as a reigning monarch in his own country – did hope to involve the Ottomans in his war against the Tsar, a concern that in the long run

did little to endear him to his hosts.

Ottoman priorities at this time were rather different: Ahmed III and his viziers wanted to solve all outstanding problems with Russia and Poland as rapidly as possible, so as to concentrate all energies upon the re-conquest of the Peloponnesus, occupied by the Venetians since 1686.[42] This meant that the government in Istanbul wanted Charles XII to leave Ottoman territory as rapidly as possible. However, in spite of the Sultan's intentions, a short Russo–Ottoman war did in fact intervene in 1710–11, in which the armies of Peter the Great narrowly escaped annihilation and the Tsar obtained a peace that, given this situation, was inexplicably advantageous.[43] But the Swedish king showed no inclination to return home, and instead insisted on being accompanied by what was to have been a full-scale Ottoman army.

To escape from this impasse, in 1713 the government of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) probably instigated violence by janissaries stationed in and near Bender, who burnt down the residence where Charles was staying. Following this event, known as the *kalabalık* (crowd [action]) in Ottoman sources, the King was forcibly removed from Bender to the vicinity of Edirne.

In his letter of protest to Ahmed III, Charles XII claimed to believe that all this had happened without the Sultan's knowledge. But Akdes Nimet Kurat, in his large-scale monograph on Charles XII and the Ottomans, has suggested that Ahmed III himself was behind the whole affair. But if so, this did not prevent the latter from punishing certain high officials when the *kalabalık* caused a considerable uproar among European diplomats in Istanbul; perhaps the sultan wanted to get rid of these office-holders in any event, and he thus managed to kill two birds with one stone.[44] It is interesting to note that the forcible removal of Charles XII from Bender was mentioned with disapproval by the chronicler Şemdanizade Süleyman Efendi, who criticized the use of violence against a guest.[45] Once he had been taken away from Bender and brought to the Ottoman centre, the political options of Charles XII were drastically curtailed, although he continued his contacts with European rulers, including the King of Prussia. The Russo–Ottoman and Polish–Ottoman peace treaties of 1714 finally made it clear that Ahmed III was not going to intervene any further in the affairs of Eastern Europe, and in the autumn of that year, after a five-year-long stay, Charles XII returned to Sweden. During his stay he had first been treated as a state guest and later rather more like a prisoner, albeit of honoured status.

Certainly the Marquis de Bonneval (1675–1747), or Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa according to the identity he assumed in the Ottoman world, was not of royal or near-royal status, although he was remotely connected to the French ruling house.[46] But the offices he had

obtained in the service of both the French king and the Habsburg emperor justify our treating him here as a 'man of high degree'. His actions can be regarded as those of a nobleman who claimed for himself, in case of serious differences with his 'natural overlord', the right to take service with any sovereign who offered him satisfactory conditions of employment. This attitude was receding at the turn of the eighteenth century, but was still quite widespread, as apparent from the life histories of Prince Eugene of Savoy or Count Luigi Fernando Marsigli.[47]

As a general, de Bonneval entered the service of the emperor Leopold I (r. 1658–1705) in 1706. This move occurred after a vehement dispute with high-level French officers on account of the way in which de Bonneval had used certain funds collected while serving the king of France in northern Italy. Having acquitted himself with distinction on the Italian front and in the Southern Netherlands during the remaining years of the War of the Spanish Succession, this recent acquisition of Leopold's was promoted and even made a member of the imperial war council. De Bonneval also participated in the battle of Peterwardein/Varadin against the Ottomans (1716), in which Prince Eugene of Savoy won a major victory; his much-admired service on this occasion netted him an amnesty from the regent Philip of Orleans, who ruled for the recently enthroned boy-king Louis XV (r. 1715–74). However, at this point de Bonneval, who had been given a high position in the now Austrian Southern Netherlands, started a dispute with Prince Eugene, which in 1724 resulted in the loss of all his offices, and even in a condemnation to death that was commuted by Leopold's successor the emperor Charles VI (r. 1711–40) only after quite some hesitation.

These events were instrumental in de Bonneval's offer to take service with Ahmed III; following a stay in Venice, in 1729 he appeared in Sarajevo along with a small suite, suggesting to the Ottoman authorities that he should continue where Ferenc Rákóczi had been obliged to leave off, in other words start an anti-Habsburg uprising in Hungary or Transylvania. His projects also seemed threatening enough to Venice that he was there condemned *in absentia*, and it seemed likely that the Venetian secret services would ensure his assassination; in addition the emperor and Prince Eugene also authorized the Habsburg ambassador in Istanbul to arrange for a political murder. Against his Venetian and Habsburg enemies, de Bonneval hoped to gain official Ottoman support by converting to Islam.[48] Thereupon he was given a military position, commanding the corps of bombardiers (*humbaracı*) when Topal Osman Paşa became grand vizier in 1731 and started to prepare for a new war against the Habsburgs. While Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa thus had a significant

military career in the Ottoman service, his political influence was less decisive than he himself wished or imagined. That he maintained close contact with Ferenc Rákóczi in Tekirdağ, and unsuccessfully tried to make the latter's son into the prince of a resuscitated principality of Erdel/Transylvania, is only a footnote to our story.[49] An investigation into the Ottoman archival documents concerning this affair, which probably slumber in one of the great registers of the period, remains a desideratum.

Conclusion

Admittedly, in historical as in other investigations there is the danger of finding what one has set out to find, and this is especially true if the documentation is full of gaps. But in spite of my probable bias in favour of expediency, contingency and political advantage, there does seem to be considerable justification for stressing the role of these factors in the treatment of various foreign refugees by the sultans' court and administration. As to the principles followed in the treatment of these various newcomers, respect towards foreign guests was occasionally adduced, especially by eighteenth-century non-official personages such as Şemdanizade. However, in practice the very broad range of possible treatments surely indicates that it was expediency, rather than principles, that played the determining role. In spite of their high status back home, the Indian exiles in Mecca seem to have concerned the Ottoman administration minimally, if at all, while the doings of Rákóczi or Charles XII were accorded substantial attention. Where Alqas Mîrzâ was concerned, the Ottoman governing circles completely lost interest in him as soon as it became clear that he could not secure the Empire further conquests in Iran.

Ottoman governing circles were well aware of the fact that they were ruling a world empire, and this is reflected in their inclination to accept entrants from both Eastern and Western realms. While this observation seems trivial from an Ottoman point of view, it is still worth stressing in our own context. After all, for a long time, the Empire's ability to attract qualified 'renegades' was an important feature in European/American historiography concerning the Ottoman world, just as the cosmopolitan character of the Ottoman ruling class often enough came to be a thorn in the side of Turkish nationalists.

Even though the Ottoman authorities did not often spell out their motives, the novel skills and contacts that certain individuals or groups could bring to the Empire must have been a point in their favour. In the case of commoners the need to populate recently acquired territories was probably a serious consideration as well. Presumably these latter concerns were dominant when it came to

admitting Morisco refugees from Spain to North Africa, which the Ottomans had recently conquered and which they probably wished to develop as a source of taxes and manpower. Similar considerations seem to have played a role when Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1491–1512) allowed the immigration of Sephardic Jews, who brought skills in the manufacture of woollen fabrics, and, where the wealthiest members of this group were concerned, commercial capital as well as useful diplomatic contacts. It remains unclear, at least to me, whether Muslim refugees were given particular preference as immigrants. As long as we do not have the kind of detailed studies of Morisco settlement in the Ottoman lands that we possess with respect to the Jews, this question will be difficult to answer.[50]

As we have seen, problems pertaining to the reception of fugitives and asylum seekers were accorded much more attention by the sultans' officials from about 1720 onwards. In part this was due to the realization by Ahmed III and his entourage that victories in the field were by no means a foregone conclusion, and that diplomatic contacts therefore had become much more necessary for the preservation of the Empire than had been true in the past. This applied to relations with European kings, as well as to those with the shahs of Iran, even though the Safavids in the early eighteenth century were on the verge of collapse; after all, a unitary state was soon re-established in Iran by Nadir Shah.

In addition, the half century between the peace of Pasarofça/Passarowitz (1718) and the beginning of the Russo–Ottoman war of 1768–74 was a period of re-organization in many walks of life, including the bureaucracy, and the institution of quite a few new offices also meant that many more documents were produced. As a result it is much easier to say something about eighteenth-century official behaviour towards foreign sojourners appealing to the sultans' protection than about their counterparts living in earlier centuries. As a result this chapter is much less balanced than I, and doubtless my readers as well, would have liked it to be. Hopefully, future research will redress this imbalance.

CHAPTER 4

Evliya Çelebi's tales of Cairo's guildsmen

Historians have always given special attention to the lists and descriptive accounts of Evliya Çelebi: without this information as a starting point, they might not even have mustered the courage to embark on the history of Ottoman craftsmen, an important but poorly documented topic.[1]

Furthermore it has long been known that our traveller's descriptions of guilds and guildsmen focus on Istanbul and Cairo.[2] In part Evliya doubtless made that choice because these were the two cities in which he had lived for long periods of time, while elsewhere he was at most a temporary sojourner. Evliya was born in Istanbul, although on his father's side the family came from Kütahya and had established a pious foundation in this town. Evliya claimed a governor active in the area among his ancestors; the latter thus must have figured among the local notables.[3] On the other hand, after performing the hajj in 1082/1671–2, Evliya moved to Cairo, and apart from a long trip into eastern Africa stayed there until his death, at an unknown date but probably some time after 1683. In all likelihood Evliya Çelebi thus spent a decade and possibly much longer in the Egyptian metropolis.[4] Certainly the author also had something to say on craftsmen in other places, but in these cases his information was much less systematic. Outside the two great metropolises Evliya Çelebi evidently had fewer sources on artisan affairs at his disposal or else less interest in them.

Cairo as a centre of production

We do not know how much contact Evliya had with the artisan world, but he must have observed craftsmen at work and when celebrating, at least in childhood. His father Derviş Mehemmed Zılli was a court goldsmith, supposedly in the time of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–66).[5] Presumably the court goldsmith knew other prominent jewellers, and our traveller must have met at least some of them.[6] In addition Evliya

recorded that as a young man he three times had occasion to attend a goldsmiths' festival that supposedly had some connection to Süleyman the Magnificent and which in his own time, once was attended by Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–40) in person. On this occasion – or so the author claims – there also were some provincial goldsmiths in attendance.

Thus when the author wrote about Cairo guilds and artisans, he possessed a good deal of background information, and only a selection of his observations can be presented here. For the inhabitants, the different food trades probably were the most important: Evliya commented not only on the sellers and measurers of grain but also on the numerous people who prepared ready-made dishes, some of which did double duty as medicine. High-quality cheese was manufactured by a Bedouin in Bulāq, which according to Evliya had no rival anywhere else, not even in Damascus. The author was aware that Jewish cheese-makers formed a group apart, but he had not tasted their wares. Fishing in the Nile was productive enough that apart from the fishermen, Cairo possessed a guild of people who sold fried fish: these were tiny establishments, for the most part operated only by a single guildsman. Another petty trade in foodstuffs involved two hundred men who traversed the markets with their goats: if a customer wanted a drink, the goat was milked on the spot, right before his eyes.

Foodstuffs were sold for local use, but other items travelled up and down the Nile. In the seventeenth century the suburb of Bulāq was home to a thriving arsenal, where ships were built for use on the river.[7] Most of the artisans employed in this workplace were ship's carpenters, but auxiliary branches were also represented, including manufacturers of tar, ropes and sails. Skins and hides used by tanners came from a large slaughterhouse owned by the Ottoman state but controlled by the janissaries; as these valuable raw materials were state property, additional gain – perhaps pocketed in part by the janissaries – was derived from sales to the tanners. The person who had farmed the slaughterhouse enjoyed a monopoly, and the owners of animals who had them slaughtered elsewhere paid a fine. A large number of artisans produced clothing and furnishings from a variety of textiles. Tailors counted a companion of the Prophet Muhammad as their protector, although they were for the most part Christians. Button-makers were mostly Jewish; in this case Evliya had nothing to say about any heavenly patron. The traveller also commented on the large number of furriers, somewhat unexpected given the hot climate, but apparently coats made of lambskin were favoured by the local peasantry and perhaps served as blankets by night.

In any pre-industrial city the manufacture of fabrics was an activity

of central importance, and Evliya realized that Cairo was no exception to this rule. It was a privilege of the Cairo weavers to produce every year the silken cover for the Ka'ba, which was taken to Mecca with the pilgrimage caravan: in spite of his pro-Istanbul biases Evliya acknowledged that these people were the unsurpassed masters of their craft. The silk used in this workshop was dyed by three hundred artisans employed in seventeen workshops. In addition there was a thriving manufacture of cottons: our traveller noted the presence of chintz printers and also of a guild of men who beat dyed cottons with wooden mallets. The traveller from Istanbul was particularly impressed by the large number of weavers, and evidently considered weaving a speciality of Cairo: three thousand workmen laboured in eighteen hundred shops, and in addition there were looms in private dwellings, which the author was realistic enough to not even try to estimate.

Other highly skilled artisans produced carpets. Three hundred workers were employed in twenty shops: as a result carpet-manufactories must have been among the largest workshops in the city. Evliya felt that only the products of Isfahan could compete with the Cairo wares. We are left to wonder whether in spite of the admiration for Uşak carpets that the author had expressed elsewhere, he felt that the Anatolian carpet manufacturers did not quite make the grade when compared to the sophistication of their Cairo competitors.[8] Evliya especially commented on the silk carpets that could be worth 2,000–3,000 *guruş* apiece: we can thus be sure that even though, famously, in the late 1500s certain Cairo carpet-makers had been ordered to re-locate to Istanbul, the manufacture of costly pieces was still a going concern in the Egyptian metropolis.[9]

As an educated person Evliya was attracted to the booksellers: he expressed a special devotion to the patron saint of this guild, whose sanctuary he had visited three times. He saw the work of three Cairo painters/illuminators that impressed him. These artists were members of a guild that was quite separate from that of the painters who decorated houses, a much more numerous but also highly skilled group. On the other hand, Evliya did not think much of the gilders. Remarkably his only reference to the scribes, who after all copied out the texts sold in the booksellers' shops, concerned not the producers of these books at all, but rather the writers of petitions. Perhaps Evliya regarded copying not as a trade but rather as an avocation for literate people who mostly made their living elsewhere. It is also astonishing that the traveller found only three shops where ink was made; perhaps this commodity was mostly imported from Anatolia, where manufacturers used a different technique. By contrast a hundred and fifty people made a living as bookbinders, much the largest group

employed in any of the book-related trades.

Guildsmen in Cairo on parade

When Evliya discussed the artisans of Cairo he proceeded as he had done in the case of Istanbul, namely he based his account on records concerning a parade.[10] Unfortunately, in the case of Cairo, the author did not say whether he had a written document in his hands, but given the numerous types of artisans that he enumerated, it is highly probable that he did. We may imagine that Evliya had friends among the high officials sent to Cairo from Istanbul, who perhaps showed him the archival materials that he needed.

Evliya claimed that there were twelve major festive processions in the Egyptian metropolis, but that he was especially concerned with the so-called parade of the market supervisor (*muhtesib alayı*). It seems to have been especially brilliant – the traveller felt reminded of a princely circumcision (*sur-ı hümayun*). Evliya also noted that the women of Cairo claimed the right to watch the procession from shops rented for the purpose or else from private domiciles. In this case – or so the traveller had heard – they might spend the following night in the houses of friends; on the other hand, when watching the other parades that they were permitted to view, namely the entry of the governor of Egypt, the annual opening of the Nile dyke and the festival concluding the fast of Ramadan, they were expected to be home by nightfall.

The market supervisor (*muhtesib*) was in charge of all the artisans working in the Egyptian metropolis, and just like his Istanbul counterpart, he had the power to punish minor infractions.[11] As for the purpose of the parade that he conducted with much fanfare, it was intended to ascertain the beginning of Ramadan: in a ceremony which may have originated in the Mamluk sultanate, the market supervisor first presented himself to the governor; on this occasion he was honoured with costly furs, turban ornaments and a waistband of gold and silver brocade. He was then commanded to visit the '*şeyhülislam* and *kadiaskers*' of the four Sunni schools of law and ascertain whether or not the new moon had actually been viewed, and bring this information back to the governor.[12] If the religious scholars came up with a positive response, the beginning of the fast could be officially announced. If not, one of the religious dignitaries had to give a banquet that very night, and to compensate him for the expense, the governor sent him a robe of honour lined with fur.[13] These ceremonies indicate that beyond his responsibilities in the marketplace, the market supervisor also was in charge of ensuring proper behaviour in religious terms; and in this context the beginning of the Ramadan fast

evidently was a major concern.

Similarly to the arrangement prevailing in Istanbul, the artisans of Cairo were subject to various officials such as the *muhtesib*, a naval officer known as the *kapudan kethüdası* or the chief builder (*mimar başı*). In Istanbul most of these dignitaries were in charge of procuring goods for the palace, but subordination to hierarchical superiors also existed in major provincial cities where no Ottoman sultan of the seventeenth century ever set foot, including Cairo and Aleppo.[14] In some cases at least the officials in question had ties to the governor: thus the itinerant coffee-sellers paid dues to the *şatırbaşı* of the *paşa* of Egypt, and the cooks were subject to the chief cook of the governor's palace.[15] But for the most part people under the supervision of the *muhtesib* sold food and drinks; accordingly they needed to pay their dues to this official.

Cairo's peculiarities

Evliya was attentive to what he considered practices current in Cairo that differed from those he had observed in the Ottoman capital. Thus he commented on the small number of bakeries in the former city and explained that in spite of the enormous number of urbanites, more full-time bakers were not necessary because many people both rich and poor had ovens in their homes. On the other hand, at least in the eighteenth century the central administration apparently assumed that most inhabitants of Istanbul purchased their bread: as a result the sale of flour to domestic bakers was a relatively minor affair.[16] Evliya also commented on the girls and women who sold bread in the streets, a feature unheard of in Istanbul; but female sellers of bread, and even all-female petty bakeries, were common enough in nineteenth-century Cairo as well, and thus must have formed part of local marketing traditions.[17]

Cairo's peculiarities are also highlighted in the section that Evliya devoted to the forty manufacturers of fireworks (*fişekçiyan*).[18] He had heard of a serious accident that had taken place in the time of a certain Ibrahim Paşa – Evliya did not specify which of the many governors bearing this name was intended, but it may well have been a contemporary. When a young boy set fire to a fire-cracker, it entered the manufacturer's shop and exploded a keg of gunpowder: there were numerous dead and wounded. However, this danger did not prevent people from enjoying their fireworks in huge quantities, and Evliya opined that if similar practices were current in Istanbul, the entire city would be ruined. While the author thought that Cairo enjoyed special divine protection, the real reason may well have been the prevalence of stone and brick, as opposed to the wooden houses current in

Istanbul.

Another Cairo peculiarity was the existence of petty entrepreneurs (*kandilciyan*) who took care of public illuminations. Townsmen all over the empire could receive the sultan's command to illuminate their shops and houses, to celebrate the birth of a prince or princess or else a victory in the field. In Cairo it was also customary to illuminate the city during the months of Receb, Şaban and Ramadan, so that the relevant procedures became more or less a routine matter. In most of the cities that Evliya knew, it was evidently the responsibility of each home- or shop-owner to make his own arrangements. But in Cairo shopkeepers who preferred to do so could pay a *kandilci* to do this job for them: the existence of illumination specialists demonstrated both the sophistication of the inhabitants and the importance of lighting in the life of Cairo's inhabitants – in another context, incidentally, Evliya referred to the enormous quantities of oil that the city consumed for just this purpose.[19]

When comparing Cairo to other cities that he had visited, Evliya even developed a pair of categories which he did not use elsewhere: on the one hand, he enumerated activities that existed in Cairo but not in other places, and on the other, crafts and services that flourished elsewhere in the Ottoman lands but not in the Egyptian capital. Quite a few specialities of Cairo were either on the 'strange' side, such as the catching of scorpions for use in medical potions, or else connected with items present mainly in Egypt but rarities elsewhere, such as sugar manufactories or else basket weavers and makers of fans working the fibre of the date palm.[20] Yet despite his interest in comparisons, Evliya but occasionally compared the quality of the work done by Cairo artisans with that of their colleagues in other places. When introducing the tent-makers, however, he noted that they certainly were very fine craftsmen yet could not compete with their opposite numbers in Istanbul or Aleppo.[21] In the same vein he deemed the makers of copper kettles to be less skilled than their colleagues in 'Rum' – in this context probably meaning Anatolia.[22]

Evliya's remarks on the donkey-drivers of Cairo show that he regarded these men, whose counterparts of course plied their trade in Istanbul as well, as something of a Cairo curiosity. For one, they were extremely numerous: supposedly there were three thousand of them owning donkeys in their tens of thousands, so that the traveller compared the donkey-drivers to the boatmen of Istanbul.[23] Evliya emphasized that all inhabitants of Cairo, even those of the highest prestige, did not see anything unsuitable in riding donkeys, a remark implying that gentlemen of high status in Istanbul must have seen the matter differently. However, perhaps even in Cairo there was some ambiguity, as the author quoted a saying to the effect that cracking

jokes about donkey riders made a person into an unbeliever. Evliya was also rather surprised to see that in Cairo it was customary to have donkeys and camels shorn of their fur: there existed a guild of 'donkey barbers' whose members specialized in this business.[24]

As for the rather numerous craft specialities that did *not* exist in Cairo, Evliya knew very well that in some cases the relevant products arrived from outside the city or even the province of Egypt. Thus arms were brought in from the Caucasus or North Africa, while iron wire was imported from Western Europe (Frengistan) – bows and arrows were, however, manufactured locally.[25] Because of a lively import trade there were no shield makers and no manufacturers of pistols either. Furthermore many goods were imported from Yemen and India, so that without causing any problems to their customers, the artisans of Cairo could hone their own peculiar skills.

Cairo's 'entertainment industry' and the city's marginal folk

However, we do gain the impression that from Evliya's viewpoint, Cairo was a somewhat exotic place. Here the arts of enjoying life were perhaps more prominent than in Istanbul, where in the mid-seventeenth century the 'puritanical' adherents of Kadızade, and later the coterie of Şeyh Vani, were at their most influential.[26] Some of the activities the Ottoman traveller encountered in Cairo he evidently considered scandalous, such as the operation by which African boys were turned into eunuchs.[27] While eunuch slaves normally arrived in Cairo only after having survived the operation further south, Evliya appears to have witnessed the procedure in the city proper; he described it, as well as the people who engaged in it. The author also had a poor opinion of the local mills, that he described as being mostly dens of thieves.[28] Throughout, Evliya apparently felt that Cairo offered perhaps more than its fair share of illicit pleasures; his account among other things was also intended as a cautionary tale, an avowable purpose that gave him plenty of opportunity to describe the seamier side of Cairo life.

Among the more respectable places of entertainment there were the coffee-houses, which according to Evliya numbered no less than 643, employing 3,000 people.[29] Even though this figure may seem large, around 1800 the officials of Selim III surveying Istanbul found 214 coffee-houses merely in Eyüp and Hasköy, suburbs located at the western end of the Golden Horn, in addition to the villages turned suburbs lining the western shore of the Bosporus.[30] For the mid-seventeenth century, Evliya did not record the number of Istanbul coffee-shops where the beverage could be consumed, but claimed that there were two guilds of coffee traders, with 200 and 300 shops

respectively.[31] Without dispute Istanbul was thus the capital of the coffee business, even though the fashion had originally reached the Ottoman central lands by way of Egypt.

To Evliya's discerning taste, some of the Cairo coffee-houses were admirable enterprises. Supposedly the largest ones could hold 1,000 customers and held special loggias where singers and musicians entertained the customers.[32] A pavilion might be set aside for the performances of story-tellers and another for the recitation of poetry. Thus some of the more high-class coffee-houses were comparable to those that Evliya had encountered in Bursa, where musicians also performed for the customers. On that occasion the author had noted that after Murad IV had prohibited coffee-houses in Istanbul, those addicted to the drink had found an alternative in Bursa.[33]

When discussing Cairo, Evliya as a traveller from foreign parts was enchanted by the knowledgeable company he encountered in these high-class establishments. Presumably the so-called *musavvir*, who in Evliya's manner of speaking were people who carried large pictures with them and put them up for inspection wherever there was a gathering of people, also found their public in coffee-houses.[34]

Of course Evliya had known millet beer (*boza*) in Istanbul; but in Cairo he found a variant that was evidently new to him. The manufacturers were known as *subyacı* and as raw material they used the rice of Dimyat, Fereskur and Menzile, from which they produced a white brew spiced with cinnamon or cloves. Evliya also noted a decoction of a root (*beyankökü*) that grew on the western coast of Anatolia and on the island of Kos/İstanköy that was supposed to have medicinal qualities, particularly against the cough from which many of the locals suffered: Evliya considered this drink, known as *ırka sûs*, an Egyptian speciality. He also enjoyed tamarind sherbet (*demirhindi*), which he drank regularly, and even noted the availability of hot milk and tea.[35] Rather less harmless was a sherbet that the traveller described as consisting of 'hemp and wine' (*beng ü bade*) with an admixture of honey: it was supposed to heighten the appreciation of human beauty and its consumers were moved to recite 'thousands of verses'. Evliya noted without comment that there were many people who ate opium paste (*esrâr ma'cûnu*).[36]

Furthermore there was a veritable red-light district in the area known as Bâbullûk; Evliya enumerated the different denizens of this world while warning his readers against the tricks by which unwary customers might be robbed of their money.[37] However, perhaps because Evliya remained a stranger in spite of the many years he spent in Cairo, he was acutely aware of the presence and dexterity of sneak thieves who operated in crowded streets, and during a moment's inattention, relieved people of their money and even their daggers. In

a previous section of his travelogue, when discussing the return of the pilgrimage caravan from Mecca, Evliya had also stressed that from a certain stopping place, Cairo's thieves joined the caravan, which made it necessary for the pilgrims to keep an eagle eye on their property.[38]

Interestingly, the author pointed to the proximity of crime and the world of the imagination when he compared the accomplished sneak thieves of Cairo to masters of fleeting illusions/shadow plays (*hayyâl üstâdlar*). On a more worldly level, both denizens of the red-light district and sneak thieves were officially registered with the *subaşı*, or chief of police, to whom at least some of them paid taxes; if the official so wished he could secure the restitution of stolen items.[39]

On the whole, marginal people in Cairo apparently enjoyed a degree of organization and sometimes even public esteem that surprised a visitor from the Ottoman central lands. Thus Evliya noted that the sweepers of the public streets who brought the garbage they collected to the city's various furnaces for fuel were even venerated by some religious scholars. For the latter believed that these miserable folk – close to death in the eyes of our traveller – might be saints and even kissed the sweepers' hands when nobody was looking.[40] With some astonishment Evliya noted that such assumptions were current among the pious with respect to other lowly workmen as well, including sellers of second-hand goods and barbers who had no shops and shaved their customers in the streets. Evidently Evliya did not assume that the idea of unknown saints, common enough in Islamic mysticism and surely familiar to him through his own association with dervishes, could have such repercussions in practical life.

Evliya also recorded that the beggars of Cairo were highly organized: they supposedly possessed a lodge of their own near the square called Rumeli meydanı where they assembled; it was run by a sheik assisted by twelve officers known as *çavuş*.[41] The place-name 'Rumeli meydanı', mentioned elsewhere in Evliya's account as well, referred to Rumayla square, a site located under the citadel. Originally the venue for equestrian exercises by the Mamluk soldiery, by Evliya's time the locality apparently had become a centre of the entertainment world.[42] In Egyptian dialect this place-name was pronounced in such a manner as to resemble 'Rumeli', and this fact may account for the confusion. Apparently the Sheik kept a register in which the names of 'nine thousand' officially recognized beggars were recorded; incidentally, this sheik was a prestigious enough figure to arrange for a little procession of his own, on the day that the cover for the Ka'ba was escorted out of the city on its way to Mecca. The Sheik and his officers were in charge of discipline: supposedly in case a beggar insulted a passer-by, the latter could complain and have the culprit punished. As in all likelihood the name of the errant beggar was

unknown to the complainant, the sheiks must have known which person begged in which place. This arrangement, if real at least in part, should have presumed a high degree of organisation, to say nothing of at a least nodding acquaintance with the world of the literate.

In addition the 'officially recognized' beggars had a connection with the governor's household: they were informed of the latter's movements in advance so that they could take their places at strategic sites. Presumably this arrangement made it possible for the *paşa*, whose real power by the seventeenth century had been drastically whittled down by the soldiery, to establish a public role for himself as a dispenser of charity. However, it is difficult to envisage sultans or grand viziers taking on similar roles in Istanbul, and in placing such emphasis on the respected place of certain marginal people, Evliya once again stressed how Cairo was very different from the Ottoman capital.

Another group that Evliya considered 'not quite respectable', but that had a recognized place in society, were the public entertainers: our author thought that their numbers were beyond counting ('seventy thousand') and so was the number of their guilds ('seventy'). Evliya did not think highly of these people and called them 'bastards' (*veled-i zina*), proclaiming that he did not describe their tricks in detail, both because it would take up too much time and because he would thereby 'praise the Antichrist'. Yet it is obvious that a great deal of admiration was mixed in his scorn, as he described the astonishment and amusement of the spectators, singling out the specialists in pyrotechnics for special attention; apparently these men put to practical use the fireworks the *fişekçiyan* had manufactured. Perhaps his ambivalence was so hard to conceal because – as he had told his readers in his description of the Istanbul guildsmen's parade – as a young man Evliya had also taken an active interest in pyrotechnics, youthful indiscretions of which he now disapproved but which he could not forget.[43]

In conclusion

Thus, in spite of the Ottoman framework of governance that our traveller described in detail, it was also a place that he considered 'strange' in several respects. Apparently in Evliya's eyes Cairo was not merely a great metropolis with thriving manufactures, although certainly he expressed his admiration for the manufacturers of the Ka'ba cover and the famed Cairo carpets. While the ubiquity of guilds both in crafts and the service sector must have been familiar enough, some types of social relations either were markedly 'different' or else

the traveller had fewer inhibitions discussing them than in the case of Istanbul. Thus throughout the chapter on Cairo, entertainment – including its seamier side where it shaded off into the world of crime – was given greater prominence than in the relevant sections dealing with Istanbul. Evliya also noted, seemingly with some surprise, the numerous connections between marginal people and the state apparatus, to the point that street sweepers might be respectfully greeted by men of religion, beggars were informed of the governor's outings and the police chief knew who had stolen what but did not normally intervene.

In addition Cairo was definitely a city of lights, and as Evliya observed, large amounts of money were spent on this aspect of urban life; illuminations were so commonplace that they had become a source of gain to specialized entrepreneurs. Once again we may interpret that observation as meaning that the Egyptian metropolis was given over to the enjoyment of life. It is a pity that we do not know to what extent Evliya projected onto Cairo certain observations also valid for Istanbul but which it would have been impolite to express when referring to the sultans' capital. Possibly imperial *gravitas* prevented the profusion of festivities that Evliya saw as a typical feature of Cairo: in this context he often referred to jokes and loud noises. Perhaps it was also part of the 'imperial perspective' to claim that Istanbul's one and only rival was somehow less than serious, too much given to the pleasures of the senses. But more simply, perhaps Cairo really was a city where a prosperous Ottoman gentleman of the seventeenth century might go to enjoy himself, comparable in that sense to Venice or Paris in our day.

Furthermore it would be of great interest to know something about the manner in which his contemporaries and later readers received Evliya's information. Presumably he made something of a stir among the Cairo literati, especially after his return from East Africa. However, that is pure speculation, as to date no information has surfaced on his Cairo readers, if any. Apparently the cultured inhabitants of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Istanbul also ignored his work, even after the Chief Eunuch Beşir Ağa (d. 1746) had brought a set of his manuscripts to Istanbul and had copies made. It was only in the mid-nineteenth century that Ottoman readers began to show an interest, and by that time Evliya's descriptions were way out of date. Thus the fascinating information that this traveller provided on the artisans and entertainers of a distant city did not really make much of an impact on Ottoman readers, at least none that we can discern today.

CHAPTER 5

Ottoman travellers in Venice

Between the fifteenth and the early eighteenth centuries Ottomans and Venetians were frequently at war. However, the sultans' army or navy never made a direct attack on the city proper, although in the 1470s and again in 1499 the Ottoman avant-garde reached nearby Friuli, and frightened observers in Venice could see the smoke arising from the villages to which the soldiers had set fire.[1] Later on, towards the century's end the Venetians constructed the fortress town of Palmanova, which was meant to prevent such incursions in the future; but the town was never attacked. Ottoman sultans and their pashas preferred to aim for Venetian possessions in the eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic. Corfu/Kerkyra, the famed 'key to the Adriatic', was besieged several times but never taken, and throughout its existence, the Republic of Venice also retained a number of Dalmatian towns. But otherwise the Ottoman policy of piecemeal conquest was very successful. The fall of Candia in 1669, after a siege that lasted for over twenty years, and the Ottoman re-conquest of Venetian-occupied Morea (Peloponnesus) in 1715 ended the presence of the Signoria (in Ottoman Turkish: *doj*, *beyler*) in the eastern Mediterranean. As a result, by the early eighteenth century the reduction of Venice to the status of a regional port in northern Italy had become irreversible.[2]

Ottoman visitors to Venice: an order of magnitude

These facts are all well known, and the same thing applies to the lively trade that Venetians conducted on Ottoman territory, principally in peacetime but sometimes even in times of war.[3] Specialists on Ottoman and Venetian history are, moreover, well aware that in the 1500s and early 1600s merchants from the sultans' domains, who might be Muslims, Christians or Jews, visited Venice for purposes of trade. Figures are in short supply but one piece of data is suggestive none the less: when Lala Mustafa Paşa attacked the

Venetian colony of Cyprus in 1570, Ottoman Muslims and Jews who had the misfortune of being on the *Serenissima*'s territory were arrested, but not their Christian colleagues and competitors. One Jewish businessman managed to flee and reported in Istanbul that slightly under one hundred Muslims and about as many Jews were languishing in captivity.[4] Presumably at that time there were also at least a hundred Ottoman Christians present in Venice. Moreover we may imagine that certain subjects of Sultan Selim II ((r. 1566–74) while still on the sultan's territory had heard that war was about to break out or recently had broken out; most of these men must have given up their journeys. Thus it seems likely that in a 'normal' year during the second half of the sixteenth century some three to five hundred subjects of the Sultan were present in Venice during the travelling season, staying for shorter or lengthier periods according to the requirements of their businesses. Some of them came from nearby Bosnia, but merchants from Istanbul and even Ankara also appeared with some frequency.

The sizeable number of Ottoman subjects spending time in Venice explains why by the early seventeenth century, the Venetian authorities instituted the *Fondaco dei Turchi*, where all Muslim visitors now needed to lodge. Restructuring the former *Palazzo* Pesaro for this purpose was a costly enterprise and caused some controversy within the Republic's governing councils. The promoters of this policy wanted to concentrate Ottoman and Iranian Muslims in a single building, comparable to Egyptian but not to Istanbul practice. As the Signoria finally decided to spend money on refurbishing the former *palazzo*, we may assume that in spite of the decrease of Venetian trade during the years around 1600, several hundreds of Muslim merchants still visited the city every year.[5]

Certainly not all Ottoman Muslim visitors to Venice were merchants. In her pioneering and most instructive book on Ottoman–Venetian diplomatic relations, Maria Pia Pedani Fabris has shown that while the sultans never instituted a permanent embassy, numerous envoys of his showed up in the city. These people were for the most part simple messengers (*çavuş*) whose job it was to deliver letters from the current sultan or grand vizier; but on occasion more high-profile figures might make an appearance as well, including interpreters for the Sultan's council. Since many such envoys spent several weeks or even months in Venice, not much time might elapse between the departure of one such personage and the arrival of another. Pedani Fabris has therefore suggested that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a near-permanent Ottoman representation in Venice.[6] Moreover, at this time, a person of consequence never appeared in public unless accompanied by a

sizeable retinue, so that the appearance of *one* Ottoman envoy really meant the presence in Venice of a fairly large group of the sultan's subjects. Admittedly the envoys often saved money by recruiting their retainers not in Istanbul, but in some province close to the border; but for the Venetian 'man on the street' it probably did not make much difference whether an Ottoman subject had come from Bosnia or Istanbul.[7] In addition Ottoman envoys to France or some other European polity frequently spent time in Venice.[8]

How to mine unpromising documents for information

Unfortunately for historians, Ottoman envoys and messengers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not need to submit written reports that were then carefully preserved in archives or official chronicles.[9] Therefore information on the comings and goings of the Sultan's messengers is available only from Venetian sources. Ottoman merchants were also not given to writing reports to their associates or letters to their families; or if they did, these writings have not survived. Thus we have no information on those people whose travels went – more or less – according to plan.

The situation was somewhat different when Ottoman traders had the misfortune of being robbed, either by Venetian subjects or else by the Uskoks, a borderland militia serving the Habsburgs, that in the years before and after 1600 had established a small Christian pirate community in and around the fortress of Senj/Segna/Seng.[10] For when these men robbed or kidnapped Ottoman traders, the Venetian authorities were obliged to intervene, as in 1573: through the peace that ended the war over Cyprus, the Signoria had assumed responsibility for guarding the Adriatic. Venetian ships policing the sea were thus obliged to chase down the pirates, recuperate the booty the latter had taken and return it to its rightful owners.[11] In case the robbers were Venetian subjects – and claims that this was so were reasonably frequent – the Ottoman merchants and their backers from among the Istanbul elite would also demand the punishment of the plunderers.[12] Admittedly there were limits to the Venetians' responsibility; thus Ottoman viziers always admitted that the captains in charge of policing the sea were not obliged to follow the pirates into their hiding places on the mainland.[13]

To secure Venetian aid, the merchants who had been robbed needed to convince the authorities of their plight; and for that purpose they wrote short but sometimes quite instructive reports, set in the first person singular, the first person plural or sometimes the third person. Quite often the merchants, before applying to the Venetian authorities, had taken the matter to Istanbul and brought back letters

from the Grand Vizier or even the Sultan to the Doge and his council. In submitting these documents in addition to their own petition, the traders demonstrated the support that they could muster in Istanbul. Presumably the message implied by this gesture was not lost on the Venetian officials, and as a result these texts arriving from Istanbul are preserved in the *Archivio di Stato* more frequently than the petitions of the victims. In a lengthier discussion than is feasible here, it might be possible to mine these documents from Istanbul for further details, although admittedly they only report events at second hand. For quite often the texts produced by the bureaucrats of the Sultan recount misfortunes suffered by Ottoman travellers en route to Venice, of which no first-hand records survive. Unfortunately the archives in Istanbul provide but few documents useful for our present purpose.

The petitions in which Ottoman merchants recounted their misfortunes to the Signoria are in simple Turkish, and mistakes are frequent enough. Surely the authors had not received a higher literary education.[14] Mostly the complainants were Muslims: this fact is worth noting, as there were also many Christian and Jewish subjects of the Sultan, who traded with Venice, were robbed in the Adriatic, asked the Venetian authorities for help, and in certain cases knew Ottoman Turkish. Perhaps most non-Muslims wrote their petitions in Greek or Italian, so that we do not find them in sections of the Venetian State Archives where *documenti turchi* are preserved. Bosnian merchants, however, who might have used their native tongue, usually wrote about their experiences in Ottoman Turkish.[15] Thus the surviving petitions give us an idea of how people who otherwise have left but few written testimonies chose to present themselves. In addition, these complaints indicate the 'danger spots' at which travellers on the routes to and from Venice were likely to come to grief, as well as the manner in which these dangers were perceived by Ottoman voyagers.

Certainly we do not know to what extent the surviving texts had really been penned by the applicants. Presumably, when an Ottoman trader who had suffered damage to his person and/or his goods arrived in Venice, there were people whom he could ask for help. After all, no merchant could do business in Venice without employing one of the officially appointed brokers (*sensal*): these people, who knew some Ottoman Turkish and above all the rules of 'politically correct' petitioning in Venice may well have offered their services in this field as well. Or else the merchant might turn to one of his colleagues who had spent more time in the city and 'knew the ropes'.[16] Throughout this intervention by third parties is frequent enough when people not too familiar with the written word apply to the authorities. Whoever the authors may have been, the petitions show how merchants who wanted to get results from their

applications described the misfortunes that had befallen them. These texts also show how in so doing, the complainants viewed Venetian rule as a political concept.

Two brief case studies

Dated to February–March 1578, a testimony by five named merchants from Anatolia and the Ottoman Balkans is a good example of the problems discussed here; incidentally, further traders endorsed their colleagues' statement without appending their names. The signatories were Hvace Mehmed b Mustafa, from the small Anatolian town of Sivrihisar, and İbrahim Çelebi from Ayaş, both places situated to the west of Ankara. In addition, the document mentions the names of Hvace Muhiyeddin from Edirne (Adrianople), Niyaz (?) Çelebi from the northern Anatolian commercial centre of Tokat, and Ahmed Çelebi b Sinan; there is no information about the home town of the latter.[17] These persons testified that their colleagues Hvace Ali and Hacı Ahmed, both by now deceased, had been attacked by robbers while on the way to Venice from Gabela on the Neretva, at that time an Ottoman possession and today located in Bosnia-Herzegovina. While the Venetian authorities had supposedly tried to capture the robbers, their efforts had failed; but at least they had managed to recuperate a sizeable share of the merchants' mohair; unfortunately the text contained no details on how this 'police action' had been organized. Now, the heirs or their representatives had received the goods the Venetians had managed to salvage. Presumably this official act concluded the whole affair, and it was the purpose of the text in hand to document this fact.

For our purposes it is most important to know that these traders had crossed Anatolia and the Balkans to get to Gabela, and that the 'problem zone', in which Ottoman merchants had serious cause for concern began right after their taking ship in this little port. At the same time, the mohair trade was so profitable that not only Muslim traders from commercial centres such as Istanbul, Edirne or Ankara, but even their colleagues from small places like Ayaş and Sivrihisar did not hesitate to undertake this long journey. Certainly these traders did not always entrust their goods to Jewish or Christian middlemen, although that procedure was not unknown either.

Similar questions crop up when reading the report of Seyyid Abdi from the year 1588.[18] Apparently this personage at some point in time had acquired the title of messenger to the sultan (*çavuş*). On 15 Safer 994/6 February 1586, in other words during the difficult winter season, Seyyid Abdi had boarded a ship, once again in the port of Gabela. The vessel belonged to a certain 'Çoyta Fonta', who was by

trade a mohair broker, and Seyyid Abdi had placed 76 loads of mohair, or mohair textiles, in the hold of this ship. We can therefore surmise that this merchant and *çavuş* was from Ankara, the centre of the mohair trade. Unfortunately the complainant said nothing about the route he had used to reach Gabela, as after all the Venetians were not responsible for what happened on Ottoman territory.[19] Nothing is known about 'Çoyta Fonta', and it is intriguing that a broker should have had the funds to own and run an entire ship.

Once again the Ottoman merchant ran into trouble immediately upon leaving Gabela. Uskoks attacked and plundered the ship, and while Seyyid Abdi lost his goods, his two servitors fared even worse, as one of them was killed and the other, named Piyale, kidnapped and carried off to the infamous fortress of Segna, where he remained as a prisoner for two and a half years. Even worse, the seamen serving on the Venetian ship that should have protected the merchants turned out to be accomplices of the robbers. Seyyid Abdi was an eyewitness to this collusion as he observed how Uskoks and Venetian seamen divided up his very own goods.

The author of the petition gave the names of Christian witnesses to these events, who had been his shipmates and later returned to Istanbul. Presumably he thought that Christians would have more standing in Venice than Muslims. The witnesses in question were Armenians, but as the names of some of these people were Turkish, they probably were subjects of the Sultan and not of the Shah of Iran. The list began with Hacı Kirkoroğlı, who either possessed a father who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or else had done so himself. It is likely that he belonged to a family of wealth and status. Hızır Bali, whose name was 'religiously neutral', for it could just as well have belonged to a Muslim, explicitly claimed to be of distinguished family: at least his nickname, 'Beğler oğlı or son of a lord', points in this direction. In addition, the complainant named Hacatur the son of Toros, Karagöz the priest's son, and Aydın son of Arslan – the latter may have been a Turkophone Karamanlı Christian.[20] Furthermore Seyyid Abdi claimed that he had encountered other 'Hıristiyan' (Christians) in Gabela, who could confirm his story, but did not give their names; in a petition directed at a Christian ruler he of course avoided the derogatory term *kâfir* (unbeliever) otherwise much used in Ottoman parlance. To further emphasize the importance of his complaint, Seyyid Abdi included a letter from the current grand vizier. As noted previously, merchants who had been robbed quite often mobilized this form of official support. But even so, the possession of such a document indicated that the petitioner was a person of wealth and social position.[21]

Seyyid Abdi was at pains to emphasize that the Signoria 'was

famous for its justice and prospered because of its good faith', presumably towards the Ottoman sultan. Certainly this statement is formulaic; but even so, it is of interest for the political perspective in which an Ottoman subject with some knowledge of the world regarded the relationship between Venice and the sultan. For according to Ottoman political ideology, justice was the basis upon which any durable form of government must rest. Practising justice was in no way limited to Muslims, and an 'infidel' ruler might well be known for this virtue.[22] If Seyyid Abdi thus appealed to the justice of the Signoria, this was partly a *captatio benevolentiae*; but in addition, the author of the petition also appealed to an obligation which, as he had reason to think, was accepted by the Doge and his council as well as by the Sultan.

Seyyid Abdi's remark that good faith towards the Sultan and his subjects was the basis of Venetian prosperity also is worth a closer look. In the early 1600s Ottoman official documents quite frequently referred to the long-standing faithful allegiance of the Venetians to the Sultan; however, this rhetoric was less common in the late 1500s. Probably these turns of phrase were not invented around 1600 but gradually became common currency after the peace of 1573, in which Venice had been obliged to accept the loss of Cyprus.[23] Certainly at that time the Signoria had abandoned the alliance with Spain and the pope because the Spanish king had a continuing interest in North African campaigns, which made little sense to the Venetians. Therefore it made more sense to the government of the *Serenissima* to salvage the trade of its subjects. But given the relatively good information on European governments available at this time in Istanbul, Ottoman policy-makers may have known that the Venetians were nervous about the domination of King Philip II (1527–98) over Milan, an immediate neighbour of the Venetian *terraferma*.[24] There is no question that in the eyes of certain grand viziers all opponents of the Spanish Empire were worth cultivating. If in this context a congruency of interest appeared as 'faithful allegiance', this was just a minor rhetorical flourish.

Accessing Venice

As these texts show, Ottoman merchants almost never refer to the urban qualities of Venice, such as its geographical position or the size and decoration of its buildings. They do not even mention the canals, which as traders they must have used frequently when attending to their business. However, as noted, the Venetian sphere of activity in the northern Adriatic was often touched upon: the Signoria would have agreed with such an emphasis, as its members regarded control

over this maritime space as a condition *sine qua non* for the continued role of Venice as a commercial metropolis. All these references by Ottoman traders to the Signoria's sphere of action do not contain even the most fleeting allusions to the local landscape; rather the authors react only to the political and commercial forces active in this space.

Thus quite often Ottoman complainants referred to the landing place (*iskele, scala*) of Spalato; around 1600, Ottomans and Venetians had agreed that that site should take over the role hitherto played by Gabela.[25] This change was due to an initiative of the Jewish merchant Daniel Rodriga, who was willing to invest money in this venture as a counterpart for improved commercial and living conditions for Jews in Venice: hitherto the latter had possessed only minimal guarantees.[26] For Ottoman traders it was important that the Venetians had undertaken to ensure a secure passage from Spalato to Venice, a promise which, given the depredations of the Uskoks, they were not always able to keep.

Venice's old rival Dubrovnik, long a tribute-paying subject (*haracgüzâr*) of the Sultan, quite often occurred in the complaints of Ottoman merchants and, more particularly, in the official letters of sultans and viziers. Quite often the source of the problem was an attack by subordinate Venetian commanders on one of the islands situated a short distance from Dubrovnik. The plundering that formed part of such raids might damage the property and security of Bosnian and other Muslim merchants, who relayed the matter to Istanbul probably in addition to complaints from the Dubrovnik city council.[27] As for the open sea, Ottoman documents based on merchants' reports often refer to possible Spanish attacks, an issue that also worried the Signoria. On the other hand, we do not hear much about storms and other natural disasters, for the relevant losses were not the responsibility of the Venetians.

An enigmatic visitor and another who wrote without having much to say

To date, only a single document has turned up in which we find a few words of praise for the city of Venice and its beauty; the author evidently had visited the city in person. Addressed to the Signoria of Venice, this is a rather enigmatic text; on the photocopy I have studied there is no mention of the author, but the archivists have discovered the signature of a certain Seyfi. As common in seventeenth-century private letters and petitions, the document bears no date.[28]

Seyfi did not record his patronymic, which makes identification even more difficult. Apparently this person had travelled to Paris on business, and for this purpose he had secured a Venetian *laissez-passer*

(*pasaporta*). Armed with this document, the author claimed to have been well treated, both on the territories of the grand duke of Florence and in France proper. Moreover, the author reported that the Venetian ambassador to Paris, whom he called 'Franksiz Koçostini Yanulunu', had given him a very friendly reception and taken him along on several excursions. Correctly or not, the Venetian diplomat seems to have considered Seyfi, whose official position and business remained unspecified, as an important personage. In any case, Seyfi described himself as a well-travelled man, who had visited many provinces, towns and fortresses. He did not say what languages he used during those travels, nor was there any reference to the nature of his business or to further people whom he may have met.

According to the great Ottomanist Alessio Bombaci, the badly mauled name of the Venetian ambassador might have been Francesco Giustinian Lolin, ambassador to the court of the young Louis XIV (1638–1715); Lolin represented the Republic of Venice in Paris between 1655 and 1660.[29] However, doubts remain, for at the time when Lolin was in France, the Ottoman siege in Candia was still continuing; in other words, Venice and the Sultan were at war. Certainly it is possible to imagine a scenario by which the Venetian authorities may have issued a *laissez-passer* to an Ottoman subject none the less. But as Bombaci and Pedani Fabris, who also has studied this text, have both pointed out, it is more difficult to understand why a Venetian ambassador should have gone out of his way to be polite to an Ottoman Muslim. Yet it was in appreciation of this treatment that Seyfi wrote to the *Serenissima* while still in Paris.

Moreover, Bombaci and Pedani Fabris point out that Seyfi, whose missive is written in very simple Turkish, has referred to the fortress of Candia, at that time still a Venetian possession, as a place without par, the likes of which no other sovereign in the world can claim to possess. Considering the constant threat to Candia and the fact that most of Crete had already been conquered by the sultan's armies, it does not seem very diplomatic to shower praise on the fortress. Considering the content, an earlier date for the missive seems more appropriate, but the name of the ambassador firmly places the document in the mid-seventeenth century. Perhaps Seyfi was not an Ottoman personage at all, but a Turkophone subject of the Shah of Iran. For in 1656 an Iranian called 'agà Sep' in French records, was in fact received at the court of Louis XIV.[30]

However, other problems emerge if we assume Seyfi to have been a subject of the Safavid shah. Certainly an Azeri might well speak and write good Ottoman Turkish; but why would Seyfi have used 'the language of the enemy' when writing to the Venetians? Furthermore, if he was in fact an Iranian subject, why should Seyfi have called his

own ruler the 'Sultan' while as – presumably – a believing Muslim he must have been well informed about the religious cum political tensions between Sultan and Shah? We may speculate that he was in fact an Ottoman spy, clumsily posing as a Safavid subject; but in this case, it is hard to believe that the rather effective Venetian secret service did not unmask him. In brief, Bombaci and Pedani Fabris are right in pointing to the numerous questions raised by this text, which surely cannot be answered unless new documents turn up.[31]

Apart from these questions, Seyfi's manner of expression has intrigued Bombaci and Pedani Fabris. The author not only praised the beauty of Venice, the strength of Candia and the polite treatment he had enjoyed on the part of the Venetian ambassador: in addition there was somebody or something beautiful (*güzel*) that he had seen in Venice. Perhaps he was discreetly referring to a beautiful woman, but as Turkish does not allow the expression of gender, we will forever remain guessing.

Even more difficult to interpret is another document, in which an Ottoman subject, in this case an anonymous trader, refers to his experiences in Venice. Once again the text is undated, and as Bombaci has noted, the *pessima scrittura* renders it all but impossible to decipher.[32] Ink has penetrated the paper to the point that the photocopy from which I have worked shows large black stains, which further increase the difficulties inherent in this item. But among the phrases that remain more or less legible we find the remark that the author has trouble remaining in Venice because of the high cost of living. Certainly this remark is not very enlightening, but in business correspondence it is perhaps not realistic to expect more.

Travellers presenting themselves

I will use this brief comment of an anonymous merchant to introduce the remarks that Ottoman – or possibly Ottoman – visitors to Venice wrote about their own feelings; these remarks were of course conditioned by the format used, which might be a complaint, petition, or business communication. Moreover, we need to take into account for what purpose the writer had produced his text. Seyfi wanted to thank the Signoria for the friendly aid that he had been given; as he was still in Paris at the time of writing, presumably he also wanted to secure Venetian help for the return journey. This concern must have been a major reason for his positive comments on Venice and all things Venetian.

Moreover, Seyfi includes fairly extensive disquisitions on morals, focusing on the obligation to be grateful for kindness received. At present it is difficult to say to what extent these remarks were empty

phrases and to what extent they were taken seriously by the author in spite of their formulaic quality. After all, when a Muslim and a non-Muslim engaged in polite correspondence, virtues laudable in both religions were a suitable subject. However, not many 'private' letters written by Ottoman Muslims have survived, and very few of those that do have been systematically studied.[33] In the 'Documenti Turchi' section of the Venetian state archives some letters of this kind are available, which for one reason or another never reached their destinations. In one of these texts moral maxims similar to the kind used by Seyfi also occur, but in much greater abundance, along with the relevant sayings and proverbs; unfortunately, two cases of this kind do not justify broad conclusions.[34]

On the other hand, Ottoman merchants who wrote to the Signoria to solicit aid and demand compensation had an interest in emphasizing their misfortunes on Venetian soil and the sufferings that they had endured. They therefore stressed that they had sustained bodily harm and lost colleagues, servitors and slaves, who had been abducted by the Uskoks and never returned, or at least suffered a lengthy period of captivity. In addition, the merchants highlighted the goods lost, with special emphasis on Ankara mohair and mohair textiles as well as probably Venetian woollens (*çuha*) which they had been carrying.

Given the near-absence of banking facilities in Ottoman–Venetian trade, many merchants must have carried cash, and money robbed or stolen featured prominently. Traders from Saraybosna/Sarajevo were often in an especially difficult situation, as they had borrowed from pious foundations and funds administered by guardians on behalf of their orphan wards. In ordinary commercial partnerships (*müdarabe*), in which an investor provided the money and a travelling merchant only his labour, it was the rule that provided the travelling partner was not at fault, losses of capital due to acts of God or third parties had to be borne by the investor alone.[35] But this rule did not apply to loans from pious foundations and orphans' funds; in these cases the traders needed to repay, no matter what losses they had suffered on the journey. Merchants in this situation therefore did everything in their power to stress the special difficulty of their situation.[36]

In conclusion

In the present chapter, I have attempted to present 'inter-cultural' conflicts between the sultans' subjects on the one hand, and the Signoria and/or Venetian subjects on the other, stressing the viewpoint or 'voice' of the Ottoman side. This is a difficult undertaking, as the records available in Ottoman depositories in

Istanbul contain very little material that reflects anything but the aims and interests of the sultan and high-level office-holders. Certainly the 'Documenti Turchi' in the Venetian state archives contain a fair number of texts reflecting the worries and aims of 'ordinary' Ottoman subjects. But, as noted, the latter often felt that they needed confirmatory letters from sultans and viziers; combined with the ordinary official correspondence on 'matters of state', this concern ensured that even in the Venetian archives the views of the Ottoman governmental apparatus predominate.

Ottoman merchants doing business in Venice not only have left a limited number of sources, but those that do remain cannot be integrated into any kind of series. We possess more or less coherent sources on the views of the sultans and their chief servitors concerning foreign trade, including that which merchants from the Ottoman realm conducted in Venice, and sometimes elsewhere in Italy as well.[37] But when it comes to the people who actually did business, we at best retain fragments; and often the 'voices' of the merchants do not survive in the texts that they have written, but have been filtered by the Ottoman bureaucracy. Presumably in the long run we will find more sources and become more sophisticated in interpreting those that we already possess, but it is unlikely that we will ever have a large number of primary sources reflecting the travel impressions of Ottoman merchants. Some historians may combine their professional experience with historical imagination when interpreting this material, in the manner for which Nathalie Zemon Davis has become famous.[38] Admittedly not all historians are good at such enterprises, but if reasonably successful, such imaginative reconstructions may help us better to understand inter-cultural contacts in the early modern Mediterranean.

In spite of these limiting factors, some interesting observations have resulted. Thus, many Ottoman subjects who had taken the road to Venice apparently assumed that in spite of the difference of religion, there were certain moral values that bound both sides. The Bosnian traders applying to the Signoria therefore seem to have felt that the plight in which they found themselves should move the Venetian authorities to help them recover at least part of their goods. Seyfi also liked to include pious wishes, in which he often referred to God's will but not to anything more specific to Islam. He thus weighed his words carefully so that they would be appreciated by any adherent of a monotheistic religion.

I would therefore postulate, as a working hypothesis, that Ottoman visitors to Venice had developed a discourse on moral issues highlighting honour, gratefulness, *noblesse oblige* and the quality that today we would call fairness; this discourse was not connected to any

specific religion, although monotheism was a basic assumption. This discourse was in use when applying to the Doge and the Venetian Senate, but when traders from the two realms came together a variant was in use as well. It seems that Venetians and Ottomans interacting in Venice had developed a degree of consensus which entailed that certain moral obligations existed with respect to 'the other'. It is of special interest that these obligations had little if anything to do with Ottoman or Venetian law; but even so, in practical life they were – at least one hopes – binding for both sides.

Unfortunately the many gaps in our documentation do not allow us to retrace the manner in which this consensus on fundamental moral issues may have evolved. However, if some speculation is permissible, the fact that Venetian and Ottoman merchants had interacted for centuries, presumably in some cases since the 1300s, must have had a role to play. As far as the Venetians were concerned, this long-standing affinity has been well documented; thus Deborah Howard has shown that already in the pre-Ottoman period Venetians had brought back architectural design features from the Islamic Middle East, which to the present day distinguish the *palazzi* of this city from those of Florence or Siena.[39] Moreover, while artefacts from the Islamic world were esteemed throughout medieval/early modern Italy, many if not most of them had transited through Venice, where at times local artisans imitated them with more or less success.[40] On a strictly practical level, Venice was willing to accept Muslim and other merchants subject to the sultans, while this was not true in most other Christian ports of the Mediterranean. As for the Ottoman side, the lack of documentation does not really permit us to go beyond highlighting the lengthy period of interaction and the resulting familiarity: while the Venetians were quite often enemies – and defeated enemies, to boot – they were suppliers of goods desired by the Ottoman elite. Furthermore, they were a known quantity and thus their motivations could be gauged by a subject of the sultans.

Ordinary People and their Products on the Move

CHAPTER 6

Keepsakes and trade goods from seventeenth-century Mecca

Whenever/wherever people go on pilgrimages, they tend to bring back mementoes for themselves and/or presents for their families and friends, and very often it is believed that at least some of these keepsakes have the power to convey blessings. These general rules apply to pilgrimages in many religions. Thus, in the early Christian world, pilgrims brought back tiny flasks from Jerusalem that featured an image of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and apparently were considered holy. Pilgrims within the Islamic world engaged in similar practices: in seventeenth-century Egypt, the major pilgrimage site was in Tanta, and at the feast of Ahmad Badawī, the saint to whom the local sanctuary was dedicated, a fair was held where attendees could acquire both ritually significant items and objects for ordinary use.[1]

Transporting the waters of Zemzem

Pilgrims to Mecca also made such purchases: after having fulfilled the obligation of pilgrimage that is incumbent on every Muslim who can afford it, many people brought back 'objects of virtue', such as containers with water from the well of Zemzem within the mosque precinct, which to the pious was an object of special blessing, including – at times – curative powers. Some people also poured the water over themselves – although quite emphatically this precious commodity was not to be used for cleaning.[2] Others acquired lengths of fabric that they intended for their shrouds and that they sprinkled with water from the same well.[3] The seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi (1611–after 1683), who visited Mecca in 1672, tells us that Zemzem water in the morning smelled of roses, in the afternoon of violets and in the evening of jasmine. He also claimed to have upon occasion found the water covered with a paste tasting like milk. However, it is hard to know where his personal experiences

ended and the information conveyed by current pilgrimage handbooks began; the author evidently was familiar with this type of literature.[4]

Evliya had some interesting comments on the healing qualities of Zemzem water, which pilgrims carried away in special flasks (*kumkuma*) as pious gifts; for local use, the inhabitants of the Holy City also filled beakers, pails and water skins. When explaining the effects of the water, on the one hand, Evliya emphasized the religious aspect: anybody who drank Zemzem water in sincere belief was sure to be cured. But at the same time, the author also included more worldly, in other words medical, considerations: he felt that Zemzem water was especially useful to people with problems of the gall bladder. He also warned his readers that excessive consumption of Zemzem water was harmful, as was true of any other substance on earth. This mixture of worldly and pious considerations surely was not of Evliya's invention: it is beautifully summarized in a prayer that the traveller quoted and that the locals attributed to Hacer, the spouse of İbrāhīm and mother of İsmāʿīl: through the means of Zemzem water the believer asked God to give beauty to women, long life and ultimately access to paradise.[5]

Evliya also made a few observations on how pilgrims acquired the water of Zemzem: the well-rim was topped by an iron guard, which the traveller explained was necessary, as pilgrims and locals pulled out so many pails full of water 'by day and by night' that no other kind of well-rim could have resisted the wear and tear involved. On top of the rim there was an iron cage that in four places allowed people to raise and lower their pails by means of iron wheels. Forty Arabs (due to the ambiguity of the Turkish word *arab*, these may have been Black people but also Arabs) took turns to do the hard work of drawing out the water. Unfortunately Evliya does not tell us how they received their pay, through a pious foundation or else through the gifts of pilgrims.

Reminding viewers of the hajj: depictions of the Holy Cities

In addition to vessels (*kumkumas*) full of holy water, there were the diplomas, often richly decorated, that people who undertook the pilgrimage in the name of someone else upon return presented to the person who had given them their commission. It was permissible to delegate the obligation of pilgrimage, and sovereigns particularly made use of this opportunity. Thus, the Ottoman sultans never in their four-hundred-year-long domination of the Hejaz performed the pilgrimage in person, but they did finance people to do it on their behalf and that of their relatives. It was even possible under certain circumstances to perform the pilgrimage in the name of a person

already deceased. Given these arrangements, pilgrims who had committed themselves to the service of someone else needed to satisfy whoever had paid their expenses that they actually had fulfilled their part of the contract.

These pilgrimage diplomas were not merely legal documents: many were of imposing size; they might be skilfully illuminated or even decorated with miniatures depicting the Holy City of Mecca, along with the Ka'ba, the ancient building pilgrims circumambulated in veneration. Other sites that pilgrims had visited might feature as well. Such scrolls were eminently suitable as mementoes of pilgrimage, and it is due to their function as keepsakes that quite a few such items still survive in museums.

From Ottoman times the most famous example concerns a commission by Süleyman the Magnificent, who around 1544 sent Hacı Piri b Seyyid Ahmed on a pilgrimage in the name of his son Prince Mehmed.[6] The young man had died in 1543 and was buried next to the Şehzade mosque that his royal father had commissioned from the architect Sinan, then the rising star among Ottoman architects. An exceptionally elaborate pilgrimage scroll commemorates this event; art historians remain unsure whether some of the drawings and inscriptions were produced in Mecca itself or added upon Hacı Piri's return to Istanbul. The miniature featuring the high point of the pilgrimage, namely the gathering on Arafat near Mecca, is of particular interest. It shows the locations of the two *mahmals*, palanquins transported on camels' backs, which were sent from Damascus and Cairo to symbolize the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan; servants placed the palanquins next to the hill occupied by the preacher.[7] The image also shows the numerous lamps, aligned on differently configured stands, that lighted the pilgrims' way; it also indicates a small public kitchen and the numerous tents that sheltered at least the better-off pilgrims.[8] Over a century later it was still current practice to arrange lights in this fashion: Evliya Çelebi has provided a word-picture of such an arrangement when discussing the Egyptian pilgrimage site of Tanta.[9]

At least in Ottoman imagery we often see Mecca twinned with Medina, where the first Islamic community was established after 622, the year 1 *hicri* of the Muslim calendar. Pilgrimage to Medina was not obligatory but extremely popular. People who reached the Hejaz by the overland routes from Syria and Egypt passed through this town, where the Prophet Muhammad is buried. Moreover, many if not most pilgrims who came to Mecca from lands in southern Asia made a point of visiting Medina as well, even if this involved a detour. For many visitors to the Hejaz, this 'second city' had a very special emotional quality, and visitors from the Ottoman core lands often considered it

much more familiar than Mecca itself.

Depictions of the sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina, stylized so as not to contain any traces of human beings or animals, also might serve as pious mementoes of the pilgrimage, even though the people who had commissioned them never had visited the Hejaz. For in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, when tile panels had become a fashionable decoration for mosques and stately homes, depictions of Mecca, or else both of these pilgrimage sites, executed in this medium became relatively widespread.[10] Placed in mosques, such panels reminded believers who possessed the necessary means of their outstanding obligation, while those who did not have the resources required for the Mecca pilgrimage could at least direct their hearts and minds towards the endeavours of others.

A good example of such imagery recently has been published in the catalogue of the Islamic Museum in Cairo.[11] Dated 1087/1678–79, it is possibly a Damascene artefact, which shows in considerable detail the Ottoman alterations to the Great Mosque of Mecca; apparently it was intended for display in the prayer niche of a mosque. Seven minarets adorn the sanctuary; one was added in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. Interestingly all these minarets have the characteristic slender form and conical roof that characterizes the Ottoman variety, although in reality some of the minarets were pre-Ottoman.[12] Moreover, in the lower right-hand corner an inscription emphasizes the location of the theological college (*medrese*) founded by Sultan Süleyman, even though we know that this school functioned but intermittently. In addition, the galleries that form the roofed section of the mosque are covered with numerous domes, and these features in fact functioned as a symbol of the Ottoman presence from Sarajevo to Mecca. Even the partial paving of the courtyard floor has been indicated on the tiles: choosing the proper arrangement for this part of the building earlier on had been of serious concern to Ottoman officialdom.[13] It thus makes sense to assume that this image was meant as a pious memento of the religious centre of the Islamic world and also served as a reminder to the faithful of the Ottoman sultans' rule over and protection of this central pilgrimage site.

From piety to the pleasures of this world: coffee and coffee cups

Certain items that pilgrims brought home with them had no religious character at all, but were simply items that happened to be available in the Hejaz and were small enough to be conveyed home by camel caravan. Coffee and coffee cups for some visitors at least could become keepsakes associated with the pilgrimage; this is rather remarkable, for in the seventeenth century drinking coffee was still a

contentious issue and some religious scholars tried to prohibit the substance, by constructing it as an equivalent to wine.[14] More to the point, certain sultans had forbidden the consumption of coffee and ordered the closure of all coffee-houses. Penalties of the direst kind threatened those inveterate coffee-drinkers who refused to change their ways.

Yet for all the menacing rhetoric these prohibitions were short lived, and as the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi tells us, in his time there were quite a few coffee-houses operating in the Holy City; in some of them it even was possible to watch dancers.[15] Moreover, Jeddah was an important centre of the coffee trade, and Evliya, who was not otherwise of a mercantile bent, recorded that he had made a special trip to this port town to buy some coffee that he then took with him to Cairo.[16]

However, coffee cups had quite a different trade history, as they came not from the nearby Yemen, as coffee still did at that time, but rather from distant China. Apparently the vessels that became coffee cups in the Ottoman context originally had been designed for other purposes; they also were larger than the cups we know from later times. We still know very little about the procedures by which these items first were introduced to the Hejaz. Recent work by Japanese archaeologists active on the tip of the peninsula of Sinai has shown that such cups travelled all the way through the Red Sea. When the merchants had their goods trans-shipped from boat to camel, they threw out damaged items, and these rubbish deposits today form a major indicator for the porcelain trade.[17] But other traders did not go so far north and instead unloaded their goods in Jeddah, the seaport serving Mecca.

For this latter claim the evidence is anecdotal, but suggestive none the less. By the 1570s, Chinese porcelains and their Iranian imitations were apparently available to the Şerifs of Mecca, a dynasty that had governed the Hejaz throughout the Middle Ages and down to the years following World War I. When, in the late sixteenth century, Sinan Pasha was sent from Istanbul to reconquer Yemen for the Ottoman sultans and arrived in the Hejaz, the reigning Şerif sent one of his followers to receive the distinguished visitor. However, this Ottoman governor – and later grand vizier – was offended that the Şerif had not appeared in person, and had his horse trample the chinaware he had been given as a present.[18] The seventeenth-century chronicler İbrahim Peçevî seems to have had some fun at the expense of the irascible pasha, for he recounted in some detail how a little later, Sinan was put to shame by the Şerif.

Whether true or not, this anecdote tells us that chinaware was available in Mecca at that time, and in fact according to Evliya Çelebi,

the rulers of Mecca were much inclined to making gifts of 'cups, pots and plates' (*kapkacak*), presumably meaning imported china and faience. Perhaps it was this example that inspired pilgrims and merchants to bring back coffee cups from the Hejaz. When in the seventeenth century, an inventory was prepared of a shop in Ankara that carried the mixture of items we might expect in a provincial antique shop even today, *Kâbe fincanı*, or cups coming from the Ka'ba, were among the items recorded.[19] In Istanbul, such large quantities of imported china became available that a renowned specialist on İznik faience has suggested that the competition of Chinese goods may have been responsible for the decay of the Iznik manufactures during the 1600s.[20] Of course it is unlikely that all Chinese coffee cups used in Ottoman towns were pilgrimage mementoes; yet among the goods left by late-seventeenth-century pilgrims who died in Damascus on the return journey, coffee cups had a modest but noticeable place.[21] But the association of coffee cups with the site of the Ka'ba – where they certainly had not been manufactured – is revealing none the less.

From piety to matters of this world: the fair at Minā in words and imagery

Well-to-do pilgrims purchased other goods as well, preferably items that were valuable in relation to their weight. Indian fabrics were a good example: these were brought to the Hejaz by the enormous vessels that certain Indian princes sent across the ocean. Fine muslins, for instance, were in particular demand for turbans.[22] As most Indian traders did not continue on to Cairo but sold their wares in Jeddah or other ports of the Arabian peninsula, pilgrims with money to spend presumably took the opportunity to buy 'at source'. Once again Evliya's account gives us an idea of what was available, namely when he enumerates the set of gifts that in 1672 were presented to the Ottoman commander of the pilgrimage on behalf of the incumbent Şerif. Evliya mentions shawls from Lâristân, Multân and Kashmir, in addition to elaborate silks and brocades.[23] In addition, the pasha's 'gift package' included a number of sweet-smelling essences. While it is always possible that when he compiled this list Evliya gave in to the temptation of simply enumerating beautiful things, the text still is valuable: after all, it shows what might have been expected, if not necessarily what was actually on view.

In addition, rich pilgrims might bring back a slave or two from the Hejaz. In the list of gifts presented by the Şerif to the pilgrimage commander, we find eunuchs from Ethiopia; such men would be set to guard the harems only of the very wealthy.[24] Black slaves from the land of Funj also were in evidence.[25] Just as costly were the pedigreed

horses, of which some supposedly came from Nejd and others from yet further afield, from Baghdad or else Yemen. Unfortunately the author does not tell us how the Şerif had obtained access to these most valuable treasures. In one way or another shopping trips certainly were part of the agenda of wealthy pilgrims; the main site for purchases was the fair at Minā/Munā that took place as soon as the rigours of the pilgrimage had receded.

A miniature dated 1026/1617 provides a schematic view of the relevant arrangements.[26] The location is close to the Masjīd Khayf, where the Prophet, it is claimed, once had spent a night. According to Evliya Çelebi, this structure, which dominates the upper-right quarter of the miniature, had first been built in 12/633–4 CE and expanded by the early caliphs, and latterly in 1024/1615 by Sultan Ahmed I, who had commissioned lofty walls and fifty-four domes. In the centre of the image, above the hills located at the very bottom of the drawing, there is an open space punctuated by three small monuments at which pilgrims threw – and throw – symbolic stones at the Devil, in one of the last obligatory hajj rites. On both sides, arcades frame this open space, which the draftsman tells us were shops (*dekakin*). In addition the whole space is dotted with sunshades, rather resembling those people today use on beaches. The artist calls the entire arrangement 'the market of Minā/Munā'.

When it came to a description in words, once again Evliya Çelebi was the provider. First of all, he had something to say about the buildings on the site.[27] Hemmed in by steep rocks, visible to the right and left of the 1617 miniature, four main streets, not shown on the picture, held the multi-storeyed dwellings of the Şerifs and their principal retainers, where numerous pilgrims spent time during the gathering; the most prominent could count on invitations to opulent dinner parties. Altogether, or so Evliya thought, the town held about two thousand houses. It was popular among the inhabitants of Mecca because, due to the, elevation, the climate was less torrid than in the town proper. While public fountains were lacking, many of the 'great houses' provided a drink of water to the visitors of the fair. There was also a single public bath.

Trade took place in the town's forty-five khans (*vekâle*) and in eight hundred stone-built shops; many of the latter had been installed on the ground floors of Minā's 'great houses'. The arcades on the miniature of 1617 therefore probably indicate both the shops and the dwelling places. In addition there were numerous tents and other temporary arrangements, which must correspond to the sunshades visible in the miniature. Evliya also referred to an indeterminate – but large – number of coffee-houses, likewise not visible on the image.

Moreover, Evliya's word-picture is useful also because he tells us

something about the procedures followed when the fair and its buildings came to life. After the pilgrims had arrived from Arafat and Muzdalifa, brokers and official messengers at once proclaimed that all attendees were under the protection of the Ottoman Sultan, and that now the time had come for buying and selling.[28] Thereupon, everybody got very busy: members of the Şerif's family decorated their houses and khans with many lamps, tradesmen did the same with their shops and coffee-houses and ordinary pilgrims likewise adorned their tents. Perhaps these contraptions looked somewhat like the arrangements shown in the mid-sixteenth-century pilgrimage scroll showing the courtyard of the Great Mosque in Mecca. In any case, Evliya felt that the total effect was splendid, and the festive atmosphere was enhanced by the fact that many young boys from the Şerif's extended family were brought to Minā for circumcision. Their fathers and uncles celebrated the occasion by bringing along Ethiopian singers whose music could be heard far and wide. In the evening, there were fireworks.[29]

Traders from all over the Islamic world offered their wares in Minā, and business was brisk. Once again it is not too clear whether all the lands enumerated by Evliya really were represented among the attendees, but we can be certain that there was indeed a cosmopolitan crowd. For the traders this gathering was made especially attractive, as sultanic protection and the creation of an environment that strongly promoted sales came 'free of charge'; nobody demanded market tax (*bac*) or customs duties (*gümrük*). As to the goods, Evliya was especially impressed by the great number of precious/semi-precious stones. To decorate the shops, rosaries (*tespih*) of pearls, coral and amber were joined together so as to appear like fishermen's nets, while other salesmen hung up chandelier-like contraptions made of pearls and coral. Certain shops offered piles of turquoise and agate, but also authentic precious stones such as rubies, diamonds and emeralds were available in profusion. Unfortunately Evliya does not tell us who had brought in these stones and from where they came, but presumably merchants from South Asia and the Gulf had a central role to play in this commerce.

In addition Evliya singled out fabrics and perfumes for special attention; the former included amber and musk, but also saffron that was perhaps of Anatolian origin and orange-(blossom) essence. While he also listed a variety of silk fabrics, the names were so unspecific that their origins remained indeterminate: Istanbul, Bursa or Damascus were all possibilities, as well as more exotic localities in China, Iran and Central Asia. But interestingly Evliya did not claim an Indian origin for any of the costly textiles that he had seen.[30]

Buying and selling in Mecca

Once he had completed the 1672 pilgrimage, the Ottoman commander enthroned a new Şerif, and to celebrate the occasion a similar market was held in Mecca proper, although we do not know whether sales were tax-free on this occasion too. According to custom, when the sultans decreed official festivities, house- and shop-owners were expected to decorate their residences and workplaces. To attract business, shopkeepers also offered their customers a variety of perfumes and beverages, particularly coffee.

In Evliya's time, in addition to 1,300 shops, Mecca held two of the covered markets (*bedestan*) that were emblematic of Ottoman towns. Perhaps Evliya had the two *bedestans* of Istanbul in mind when he ascribed two covered markets to Mecca as well, in deference to the city's religious and social pre-eminence. For admittedly, with fifty shops in one instance and forty in the other, the two *bedestans* were not very large. The second one, the so-called Syrian bazaar, even appears more like a shop-lined street (*arasta*) than a fully enclosed *bedestan*.[31] This state of affairs is not really surprising: after all, presumably trade in Mecca more or less was limited to the three or four months when the pilgrims were present in the city; and our author repeated the old saying that the inhabitants of Mecca made their living because of the pilgrims' presence.[32] As Evliya himself pointed out, a good deal of business was done in improvised venues such as the entrance halls of private houses, especially those belonging to the more important merchants; he estimated that including these places Mecca's shops numbered over six thousand.[33]

No merchant himself, Evliya rather disappoints the modern reader where information on the goods traded in Mecca is concerned. But he does tell us that most of the shops in the city were tenanted by merchants dealing in perfumes, dyes and other drugs (*attar*), or else by dealers in textiles (*bezzaz*), in addition to the grain merchants who one would expect in any town of some importance. Presumably these people for the most part did business with the pilgrims, and Evliya warned his readers that here, bargaining was of no use: if anything, the merchant was likely to take such attempts at negotiation as a slur upon his dignity and ask for even more money. Compared to the multitude of traders, artisans were few in number, and our traveller put this down to the physical weakness of the locals, a state of affairs he attributed to the heat in which they had to live.[34]

What are we to make of this?

While Evliya discussed in some detail the troubles which in the year

before his arrival had cost many pilgrims their lives, and certain traders major losses of property, the overall picture that he painted was one of commercial activity and prosperity. On the other hand, the impression gained from the work of Establet and Pascual, based upon the estate inventories of pilgrims who died in late seventeenth century Damascus, is much less positive. Certainly the exchanges in Minā and Mecca left traces in the record books compiled in the Syrian capital, in the sense that the 'typical' pilgrim brought a few items with him that he sold in the Hejaz, and before returning purchased a few keepsakes that he retained for himself, gave to his relatives or perhaps sold. At the same time there were a few large traders who followed the hajj caravan and were the real 'movers and shakers' in the commercial sector. But overall, as reflected in the Damascus qadi's registers, the hajj caravan seems much less vibrant commercially than had previously been assumed.[35]

Establet and Pascual have tried to explain this contradiction by implying that the European observers who also had emphasized the commercial aspects of the pilgrimage had misunderstood the situation.[36] Moreover, de-emphasizing trade means placing an additional stress on piety and ritual, and such an emphasis matches the concern of many present-day scholars with religion and identity. But our discussion of Evliya's observations has shown that the situation may be more complicated. Of course it is always possible to claim that Evliya, who after all, according to twentieth and twenty-first-century scholarship appears largely as the inventor of the travel-based narrative in the Ottoman world, fantasized about a type of prosperity quite alien to the real-life situation of the time. This point is well taken: yet the many recent monographs on individual towns for which Evliya's travelogue forms a major source, all have shown that even his inventions usually are based on observations. I do not think therefore that in the light of the conclusions of Establet and Pascual we simply can write off Evliya's account of the lively buying and selling in Mecca and Minā as unreliable.

Is there an alternative? I think there is, and that it is connected to political and economic conjuncture. In the early 1670s, when Evliya was in Mecca, although the Ottoman Empire had recently been involved in a number of wars, they were more or less successful, and, above all, of comparatively short duration. On the other hand, the failed siege of Vienna in 1683 began a long period of armed conflict with the Habsburgs, which resulted in the loss of almost all of Hungary in 1699. Warfare on this scale was so crippling that all peacetime endeavours fell by the wayside, and this neglect included even the security of the hajj route. In addition, high taxes and more or less unremunerated deliveries to the armies led to an impoverishment

of merchants and craftsmen, an observation which historians have made mainly with respect to eighteenth-century wars, but which I think applies to 1683–99 as well.[37]

I would therefore suggest that the observations made by Establet and Pascual apply to a period of wartime impoverishment, when merchants who could have sustained the trade described by Evliya were few and far between. In this context it is also noteworthy that the Damascus inventories, of which Establet and Pascual have produced such a valuable analysis, only reflect the trade in Indian fabrics, and have little to say about precious stones. Presumably word had got around to the Indian traders who must have furnished many of the valuables that so fascinated our traveller from Istanbul. If these conclusions turn out to be true, we have in our hands yet one more example of the destructive impact of warfare on the economies of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 7

Entering and leaving the Empire's industrious core: Bursa and its textiles

The mobility of people and goods

At least in the late 1400s and throughout the 1500s, the northern Anatolian city of Bursa was notable for the mobility of people and things that either originated in this city or else passed through, on their way to often distant places. Halil Sahillioğlu has pointed out that many of the city's inhabitants were slaves and freedmen – freedwomen also were present, although less is known about them.[1] According to the timing of the campaigns and raids during which they had been enslaved, these people originating first from present-day Greece, later from Serbia and still later on from Hungary, appeared in the qadis' registers a decade or two after enslavement when they were resold or – if lucky – manumitted. Given the frequent raids of the Tatars, there were in addition always large numbers of Ukranians and Russians among the enslaved population of Bursa, early Ottoman sources not differentiating between the two ethnicities. Moreover, the traders who did business in the khans of the city were almost by definition outsiders, Iranians as well as Florentines being on record.[2]

Not only the ethnic backgrounds of the permanent and temporary inhabitants, but the goods manufactured and traded in the city also show that more perhaps than other Ottoman towns, the prosperity of Bursa depended on mobility. For the manufacture of silk cloth, the product that had principally made the city's reputation, weavers employed Iranian raw silk, a custom that explained – at least in peacetime – the presence of both Muslim and Armenian subjects of the shah. And as the finished cloth went largely to the Ottoman court in Istanbul, there had to be merchants and transporters moving between Bursa and the capital, who performed this service.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Bursa mobility took on rather different forms, and in comparison to the 1500s was perhaps

somewhat reduced, though still of significance. Slaves were now much less frequent and rarely employed in production, with local men and women now engaged in reeling, twisting and weaving silks. Moreover, much of the raw silk now came from the surrounding villages, although some 'Acem tüccarı' (merchants from Iran, usually Armenians) continued to visit the city. On the other hand, as the work of Nurhan Atasoy and her colleagues has taught us, the exportation of Ottoman and thus implicitly of Bursa silk cloth to Poland and Muscovy/Russia added another type of movement, as the servants of diplomats and traders with links to these polities arrived in Bursa to carry precious silks to their destinations.[3]

Outside linkages: serving the Ottoman court, the capital and the world market

Given the close connection to Istanbul, we can regard Bursa, in spite of its substantial size, as one of the 'service towns' that often developed around great cities the world over.[4] It has even been claimed that a major urban centre of the early modern period typically demonstrated its greatness by bending other towns to its will. But Istanbul had a relatively limited number of such service towns at its disposal. We might name Rodosçuk/Tekirdağ , where grain from outside the region could be stored until needed, as well as İzmit (İznikmid) where, at least in the sixteenth century, water-mills manufactured the flour that fed the inhabitants of the capital. On the spiritual plane, Eyüp enjoyed a considerable reputation: as a famous local sanctuary, it provided legitimacy to newly enthroned sultans who, from the seventeenth century onwards, made a point of ritually visiting the place where supposedly a companion of the Prophet had been buried.[5] But Bursa was the most important of these 'subordinate' settlements, and if Istanbul had not been there to overshadow its grandeur, the city doubtless would have gained a wider fame.

Given the geography, it makes sense to consider Bursa's large population as a consequence of commerce and industries that could not have grown to the size that they did in fact attain, if it had not been for a wealthy and demanding consumers' market only a short distance away. On the other hand, we can explain the dependence of Anatolia's largest city on the Ottoman capital by the high degree of centralization that the sultan's government imposed on its core provinces.[6] In the more remote territories, particularly Egypt, it was often easier for merchants to escape the heavy hand of the central administration. Thus Bursa's economic life, while in one sense benefiting from the closeness of a rich clientele, also paid a penalty, as the activities of its craftsmen and traders were circumscribed and

supervised more closely than was the case in more remote places such as Cairo or Aleppo.[7]

Close links to the Istanbul market also explain why only in Bursa during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries do we find an important number of slaves active not just as servants in great houses, but employed in commerce and crafts.[8] In principle, merchants might expect to incur losses, if they entrusted important tasks to slaves impatient for the opportunity to return home. Yet as the employment of slaves in long-distance trade was not unknown, many masters must have devised means of ensuring the loyalty of their men. Especially, the widespread practice of manumission after some years of service, and the opportunity to become traders in their turn, must have convinced quite a few servitors that their chances in Bursa were better than if they risked their lives in attempting to return to Latinate Europe (Frengistan) or India. Moreover, some slaves may well have suspected that after a long absence, they might be less than welcome to relatives and business partners in the home country.[9]

From the entrepreneur's viewpoint, recruiting slaves as part of the workforce in skilled trades was also a risky and expensive undertaking. After all, new arrivals had to be housed and fed until they had overcome the shock of separation from home and relatives, have learned at least basic Turkish and acquired the skills needed by masters and mistresses. Moreover, some of the slaves doubtless died, after they had already occasioned considerable expenses, but before their owners could profit from their investment; or else the slaves proved incapable of learning the intricate techniques needed to weave a sophisticated piece of cloth on the simple looms available in the early modern period. All this means that sixteenth-century Bursa looms were produced for an up-market clientele for whose members 'price was no object', and customers of this kind could only have been found in significant numbers in and around the Ottoman court.

It appears, however, that from the seventeenth century onwards Bursa textiles became less luxurious, and efforts to sell them were less exclusively directed at sultans, viziers and other personages at the apex of the Ottoman state apparatus. Considerable uncertainty remains, because it is often difficult to securely date fabrics, and possibly some textiles that we consider as sixteenth-century work in fact had been produced rather later. But it does appear that after a serious crisis before and after 1600 the Bursa industry recovered to some extent: now the workforce consisted of poor but free people, and a substantial share of the necessary raw silk was now produced locally, resulting in greatly reduced costs.[10] It was probably due to the availability of alternative raw material that Bursa's silk manufactures survived the interruption of Iranian silk imports in the 1700s, as the

wars that accompanied the fall of the Safavid dynasty led to a major decline in silk production. Fabrics were now directed at a more modest, non-courtly, but still well-to-do clientele, as indicated by eighteenth-century inheritance inventories; for by this time silk apparel in local women's clothing chests seems to have been more widespread than it had been for instance in the 1480s.[11] Moreover, silk was not the only textile fibre worked by Bursa artisans; on the contrary, cotton had become popular, both on its own and mixed with silk.[12] As a working hypothesis, we can therefore posit that after 1600 Bursa served less the Ottoman court than the inhabitants of the capital, the Anatolian market and also foreign customers, principally in Eastern Europe.

The next 'turning point' in the city's economic fortunes came only in the 1830s, when the silk industrialists of Lyons and Great Britain, now fully set on a course of factory-based expansion, 'discovered' the mulberry groves surrounding Bursa as a source of raw material. These men encouraged the establishment of factories, in which a largely female labour force reeled and twisted silk thread adapted to the weaving of damasks, jacquards and other fancy fabrics that the mechanized looms of Lyons now could produce.[13] Weaving became a secondary activity and, as a result, Bursa's emerging textile factories no longer served Istanbul but rather the world market, or in more concrete terms the French silk industry and, to some extent, other European manufacturers as well. This integration into the European-dominated world market continued, with some modifications, down to 1914, when the export market collapsed due to World War I.[14] Given the end of the Empire as a result of this conflagration, our story of Ottoman Bursa's textile crafts and industries will end in 1914.

Commercial infrastructures

'Through a glass darkly' we can observe the city of Bursa as it appeared to an Ottoman official in charge of recording taxpayers and taxable resources in the year 1487, the 'darkness' being a consequence of the unfortunate fact that the earliest register is incomplete and the descriptions of only 43 town quarters (*mahalle*) have come down to us.[15] Yet we know that there was a total of 174 such quarters, inhabited by 6,457 taxpaying heads of households, as this information appears on one of the surviving folios. However, we have no idea of the average size of a late-medieval Bursa household; if, as a very rough estimate, we assume a coefficient of five, we arrive at about 32,000 inhabitants; yet this figure does not include the households headed by widows, the garrison and the various tax-exempt representatives of officialdom doubtless resident in the city. It has

become customary to assume that these people may have made up about 20 per cent of any large Ottoman city. Presumably Bursa, thus, had about 40,000 inhabitants, somewhat less than half the population of late-fifteenth-century Istanbul.[16]

The list of taxable resources appended to this early count is fairly standard, indicating that Bursa possessed the markets and workshops that one would expect in any sizeable Ottoman city, such as a special grain market, public weighing scales, and a workshop for the manufacture of fat (*şem'hane*). More noteworthy are the observations that Bursa was equipped with a mint, that the *tamga* (stamp) tax was levied upon local textiles, and that there were specialized weighing scales for the red dye known as gum-lac and also for pepper; thus Bursa must have maintained connections to the great international trade network in South-east Asian spices.[17] Unfortunately this early register does not include the incomes accruing to the great sultans' foundations of the city, so that our information on Bursa's late-fifteenth-century commercial structures remains woefully incomplete.

However, early-sixteenth-century records allow us retrospectively to derive some information on the city's commercial and artisan history in the late 1400s. All sultanic foundations possessed extensive sources of income, which included shops, urban khans and public weighing scales (*kapan*). These institutions thus came to foster trade while at the same time deriving income from the merchants and craftsmen who paid rents and fees when using foundation-held properties. It is of course possible that some urban revenue sources appearing in the registers of the early sixteenth century were not contemporaneous with the early sultans' mosques and schools to whose upkeep they contributed, but such cases were probably the exception rather than the rule.

Thus, the Great Mosque (Ulu Cami), begun in 1396 and completed in 1400, was surrounded by several khans and a covered market. Though located outside the citadel walls, this area developed into Bursa's commercial centre certainly after Mehmed I (r. 1413–21) had built the 'Market of the Cavaliers' (Sipahiler Çarşısı), if not earlier.[18] In all, the mosque-foundation boasted 67 shops.[19] Given the still rather limited commercial activities of the mid-fourteenth century, the nearby mosque of Orhan Gazi (r. 1326–52) derived most of its income from land. Yet even so, the institution possessed 214 shops, urban real estate on which tanneries had been built and also the khan known as the Bezzaziye.[20] Murad I Hüdavendigâr (r. 1352–89) had donated several villages to his pious foundation, but in addition, ample urban revenues. The latter included Bursa's weighing scales for fruit, probably located in a building where slaves were also offered for sale. A workshop for the manufacture of millet beer (*bozahane*) and some

shops were also in evidence.[21] Bayezid I Yıldırım's (r. 1389–1402) son-in-law, the dervish sheik Emir Sultan, had established in his own right an all but royal foundation, which included the 'Khan of the Grain Market', 25 shops and a tannery; in addition, this foundation, just like those established by the early sultans, was landlord to a considerable number of Bursa's inhabitants.[22] F inally Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), whose major foundation was already located in Istanbul and not in Bursa, had assigned this institution two caravansaries located in the latter city, the so-called Eski-Yeni and the Yeni Han. Thus, the commercial activity of Bursa around 1500 could even serve to finance charities in the Ottoman sultans' new capital.

From the *post-mortem* inventories of a number of moneyed men who died in Bursa at the end of the fifteenth century, it is possible to reconstruct the business milieu active in the city's khans.[23] The wealthiest personages do not seem to have moved around themselves, but rather invested as senior partners in businesses where other people did the travelling; this observation conforms to a general pattern, well studied and widespread throughout the Mediterranean world.[24] Slave owning was rather common among these men, and quite a few of them were themselves 'sons of Abdullah', that is, in all probability, recent converts to Islam and perhaps freedmen. Thus, it is quite likely that here we are dealing with some of those select slaves mentioned earlier on, who were being groomed for later manumission and entry into their former owners' businesses.

In pre-industrial and early industrial societies, textiles tend to form a key sector. Fabrics, thus, occupied the position of iron and steel from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and continuing well into the twentieth, of chemical industries after about 1890, electrical equipment between the 1930s and 1970s, and computer industries after that date. It comes, therefore, as no surprise that the production of Bursa was largely oriented towards textiles. Woollens were of minor importance, although there certainly existed some weaving of rugs and kelims. But the principal raw materials worked in the city were silk and cotton, which could also be mixed to form a relatively cheap fabric known as *kutnı*; dyed in dark colours, this was considered suitable for the skirts of non-Muslim women.[25] As a large share of the necessary raw materials needed to be brought in from some distance and the fabrics woven in Bursa were consumed both within and outside the Empire, quite a few merchants whose inventories have come down to us also were involved with textiles and textile fibres.

Silk trade and silk cloth: coping with the vagaries of supply and demand

People from outside the empire's borders often appeared in Bursa, including fifteenth-century Florentine merchants.[26] Just as importantly, links were formed with Eastern countries: already in the years around 1400, so the Bavarian captive Hans Schiltberger informs us, raw silk from Shirvan was arriving in Bursa.[27] However, it is possible that the (re)nascent Bursa silk industry actually could build on a tradition going back to the thirteenth century, when İznik, then known as Nicaea, was temporarily the seat of exiled Byzantine emperors, including Michael Palaiologos, who in 1261 regained Constantinople and established the – often interrupted – rule of the last Byzantine imperial dynasty. For a while after 1204, silk weaving disappeared from Latin Constantinople, and silk workshops in Nicaea served Michael Palaiologos and his entourage; these were last mentioned in 1290.[28] Whether in the years around 1326 some of the–possibly–surviving weavers found customers at the Bursa court of Orhan Gazi, remains an open question.

Be that as it may, presumably it was the demand of the Ottoman rulers and their servitors that around 1400 once again made silk weaving possible. Admittedly, information on this craft, as on the city's social and economic life in general, only becomes more abundant with the 1480s. For from this time, the local qadi registers have survived and, albeit with modifications and minor interruptions, they continue until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Contracts and disputes connected in one way or another with the local silk manufacture are not at all rare, and economic and social historians have long mined them for information.[29]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries caravans from Iran carried the raw silk to be woven in Bursa; merchants typically crossed the Ottoman borders in Erzurum or Diyarbakır, and after paying their tolls either traversed Anatolia from the south-east to the north-west, or reached Bursa on the northern caravan route passing through Tokat and Amasya. Until Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty, and the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512–20) went to war, Muslim merchants from western Iran often organized the importation of raw silk to Bursa. But around 1512, by prohibiting the import trade, Selim I attempted to deprive his rival of revenue, and perhaps also meant to limit contacts of Ottoman subjects with those of the shah, now considered damnable heretics. Merchants incautious enough to venture onto Ottoman territory were imprisoned and their wares confiscated. For a short time, traders used the detour over the Mamluk trading mart of Aleppo; but that route also became impassable after the Sultan Selim's conquest of the Mamluk sultanate in 1516–17.[30] Certainly, when Süleyman the Magnificent ascended the Ottoman throne in 1520 he released the imprisoned merchants and their goods,

having been advised that holding them was illegal according to Islamic law. We may also presume that the unemployment suffered by Süleyman's own Bursa subjects, with concomitant losses to the Ottoman treasury, contributed to this decision.

Apparently, after this mishap, Muslim Iranians came less frequently to Bursa, where, as Shiites on Sunni territory, they may now have felt less than secure. Instead, the importation of raw silk was now largely in the hands of Armenians from Iran, who could not be suspected of being sheiks of the Safavid order in disguise, an *idée fixe* of mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman administrators whenever Muslim travellers from Iran were concerned.

This *de facto* situation became 'official' around 1600, when Shah Abbas (r. 1587–1629) made the trade in silk a royal monopoly and decided that Armenian merchants recently resettled from northern Iran into a suburb of Isfahan (New Julfa) were the most suitable agents to handle the exportation of his silk.[31] Whenever Shah Abbas was at war with the Ottomans, he attempted to re-route his silk through English merchants, who were expected to transport it by sea, thus once again depriving his rival of important revenues from customs duties, weighing dues and stamp taxes. However, it turned out that in years when the shah had a great deal of silk to sell, English merchants were unable or unwilling to invest the money needed for buying up large quantities. In peacetime, by contrast, the Iranian monarch had little to gain from forgoing sales in Bursa's lively market, and trade soon reverted to its previous channels.

On the other hand, silk weaving expanded in sixteenth-century Europe, in London's Spitalfields as well as in Italy and other places. While silkworm breeding also became more widespread as a result, particularly in certain Italian regions, the demand for Iranian silk clearly rose. English merchants of the Levant Company now made their principal profits by distributing Middle Eastern raw silk among the various silk-weaving enterprises of Europe. This growing demand could only lead to an increase of the prices for raw material that Bursa weavers were obliged to pay.[32] A secondary but not insignificant factor was the rebellions of mercenary soldiers seeking entry into the regularly established military corps, the so-called Celali uprisings, which shook Anatolia during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth century. Often enough the roads were impassable, and the limited quantities of silk that did get through must have been more costly as a result. Moreover, in 1603 certain groups of rebels were active in and around Bursa, and the central administration undertook veritable campaigns against them; the resulting destruction must have also increased the costs of local silk producers.[33] Last but not least, the Ottoman–Safavid wars of the later

1500s mostly took place on the territory of the shahs. Raw silk was a favoured item of booty, and people who previously had raised silkworms probably were so discouraged that they turned to other types of work. The prices of Iranian silk must have increased yet further as a result.

Bursa silk weavers were seriously affected by this turbulence: they could not easily increase their prices, as a sizeable amount of their work was destined for the Ottoman palace, and the latter had the political power to insist on low prices in defiance of market conditions.[34] In addition, an alternative was available to the Sultan's court: as has recently emerged, there were workshops in Venice producing Ottoman-style designs for the Ottoman market, which only textile experts could distinguish from the originals. In addition to those pieces that arrived by means of trade, the Ottomans also received Venetian silk fabrics as diplomatic gifts. Recipients of such presents included not only dignitaries established in Istanbul, but also the rather numerous envoys who came to Venice in the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries.[35] Quite possibly some of the presents received by the latter were ultimately sold in the Istanbul market. As a result, the palace could always turn, or at least threaten to turn, to these outside suppliers.[36] And to make the situation of the weavers yet more difficult, the financial crisis of the late sixteenth century ate into the disposable incomes of Ottoman bureaucrats, so that increasing prices meant losing non-palace customers as well. As a result, Bursa silk manufacturers were caught in veritable price scissors.

However, contrary to what has often been assumed, this crisis did not lead to the demise of silk weaving in the city. After the worst of the Celali rebellions had receded into the past, manufacture seems to have resumed; and the author of a careful monograph on seventeenth-century Bursa has concluded that there was no evidence of a major crisis in this sector.[37] As we have seen, manufacturers survived by switching to cheaper free labour; they also began to use more locally produced raw silk. The extension of mulberry groves in the vicinity of the city, documented in numerous *post-mortem* inventories, may serve as evidence for this latter tendency.[38] Admittedly, mulberries are edible, so that not every grove is incontrovertible evidence of silk cultivation, but equipment for the manufacture of silk thread also has left traces in the qadi registers of the 1600s, so that we can be certain of the continued activity of Bursa's silk manufacturers. Moreover, as seventeenth-century European merchants did not show any great interest in locally produced raw silk or silk thread, textile manufacturers could to some extent counterbalance the price increase in imported Iranian silks.[39]

At present it is impossible to specify which fabrics were made out of

locally grown raw silk, and for which types the Iranian variety continued to be preferred. Perhaps for the heavy silks favoured by the palace, the imported variety was more commonly used. However, within a few years textile researchers may well be able to determine the localities in which surviving silk samples have originated; once these techniques become applicable to Bursa silks, we may be able to answer this intriguing question.[40]

Product regulation and its limits: of guildsmen and non-guild (women) workers

As was customary in Ottoman cities, a substantial share of the local silk workers came together in craft guilds.[41] These organizations protected the interests of the masters, who alone could be members, for instance by limiting the number of workshops that could operate in the city. Guildsmen also determined when apprentices had completed their terms of instruction, a decision that they presumably made with the current market situation in mind.

When arbitration resolved disputes within the guild, we normally do not hear about them. But when such disagreements ended up before the qadi, and the latter requested the aid of experienced masters in determining guild usage, the scribes serving this official often made a record of the case. Day-to-day regulation of artisan affairs was in the hands of the market superintendent (*muhtesib*); he saw to it that guildsmen adhered to the prices decreed either by the qadi or agreed within the guild itself. A register of such administered prices from the year 1502 contains precious indications concerning the kinds of silk cloth woven in Bursa at this time, and also of the abuses typically attributed to dyers, weavers or other craftsmen and merchants involved in the silk trade. The text referred to velvet (*kadife*), a heavy silk textile or brocade (*kemha*), and a light silk fabric known as *vale*. As these textiles in turn were divided up into numerous sub-categories, the weaving industry must have been highly sophisticated.[42] Moreover, as this text pertained to a period usually considered to be very prosperous as far as the silk trade is concerned, the manufacture of cloths considered defective by some customers was not, as might easily be assumed, limited to periods of industrial difficulty.

To mention just a few examples: craftsmen accused of dyeing their velvet in a cheap and shoddy fashion attempted to justify their actions by putting the blame on certain traders who had cornered the market in dyestuffs and only sold at high prices, so that the dyers could no longer afford the older and more expensive methods. Other complaints concerned silk cloths that had been woven too loosely, in other words

the weavers had skimped on the raw material; in a similar fashion, gold and silver wire was spun too thin and therefore the quality of the finished brocades had suffered. However, not all changes to fabric quality were considered pernicious; for while some weavers of the so-called *gülistani kemha* admittedly produced a quality lighter than that marketed by their colleagues, the 'experienced masters' opined that both varieties were in demand, and therefore permitted manufacturing the lighter quality as well.

While only guild masters had a say when it came to the regulation of silk manufacture, they were by no means the only producers. Slaves and apprentices obviously had no decision-making power. In addition, although they did not often own silk-cloth weaving looms, Bursa women formed an important part of the labour force.[43] Some of them might be weavers, as evidenced by a reference to a young girl who was meant to learn how to weave the light silk known as *vale*.[44] Even more significant was the role of females in the reeling and twisting of silk thread. In a register dated to 1530, reference was made to a certain Hacı Mehmed, who may have been either a merchant or a tax collector and who had given out state-owned silk to a local woman for reeling.[45] In 1678, women owned around one half of the approximately three hundred pieces of silk-reeling and twisting equipment (*mancınık*); thus these females were independent agents of albeit very modest means, and not mere appendages to the enterprises of their husbands.[46] Other women manufactured silk braid for decorating garments, and possessed the right to market their products wherever they pleased and without paying any dues, much to the chagrin of the Bursa silk merchants.[47] Unfortunately, we do not know whether there were women silk embroiderers with workshops of their own; to date, such persons are only known for seventeenth-century Istanbul.[48]

Thus, notwithstanding the dominance of guild masters, non-guild labour was numerically important. Quite probably merchants could get involved in the various stages of silk cloth manufacture, and there seems to have been a certain amount of competition between artisans operating workshops, and traders controlling a kind of putting-out system. Apparently certain merchants gave out silk to be worked by non-guild members who might be women and perhaps villagers as well. Thus, in 1677 a text in the qadi registers mentions certain non-Muslim silk twisters resident in Bursa who sold their product in the city, but did the twisting, or else had it done, in the nearby township of Kite.[49] Certainly it was the craftsmen who pushed in the direction of a closely regulated production process in which 'traditional' skills retained a high value. But as we have seen, merchants and non-guild labour tended, at least to some degree, to push in the opposite

direction.

As a result it does not seem fair to say, as has often been done, that Bursa manufacturers were incapable of adjusting to market conditions: upon occasion, they might be perfectly willing to produce cheap fabrics such as *kutnı* or admit that lower-quality silks might have a legitimate place next to more expensive items. Certainly, it does appear that the Ottoman palace was a factor making for industrial conservatism, as standards in this milieu changed very slowly. But on the other hand, the palace seems to have played a less determinant role as a purchaser after 1600 than it did in earlier periods, and some weavers seem to have explored alternative outlets for their products. We will follow their lead.

Bursa silks in the hands of non-imperial customers

In the sixteenth century we first encounter liturgical vestments that had been manufactured in Bursa for use in Orthodox Church services. Unfortunately, with the limited number of sources presently available, we cannot say whether Christian churches had been important customers of high-quality silk cloth already in earlier times, or whether in the late 1500s producers had really managed to open up a new market. From the historian's point of view, certain silk cloths used by Orthodox Christians moreover present the advantage of being securely dated. Certainly, the date on record refers to the dedication of a church or monastery and not to the time of manufacture, but at least such inscriptions provide us with a *terminus ante quem*.

This applies for instance to an Ottoman garment with a gold chrysanthemum and cloud-band design which was dedicated in 1629 to the St John Prodromos monastery in Serrai (Serres) after having belonged to Neophytos, metropolitan of İznik (Nicaea).[50] In this case it is hard to determine whether the fabric was custom-made or whether it had first served some other purpose and then was 'recycled' by Neophytos. For some Bursa silk fabrics indeed had been manufactured directly for ecclesiastical purposes: in the Benaki Museum in Athens there survives a sixteenth-century silk fabric of Bursa manufacture with the repeating design of a 'victory-bearing' image of the Virgin Mary between angels, woven into the fabric.[51] In addition, we are left to wonder where the embroiderers who produced liturgical veils and other textiles for church use obtained their silver, gold and silk yarns; Bursa artisans would have been a likely source.

Other non-royal customers for Bursa silks were the wealthy Polish noblemen who in the seventeenth century adopted the so-called Sarmatian clothing style strongly inspired by Ottoman models; for this purpose they commonly purchased rich silk fabrics. Some of these

items ultimately served as grave-clothes, and archaeological excavations have brought them to light.[52] Others were once again recycled, this time as vestments for Catholic priests, and while dates of dedication were rare in this context, the heyday of the Sarmatian style was in the seventeenth century, and many silk fabrics preserved in Poland must also date from this period. Thus, the market for Bursa silks among Polish nobles and gentlemen should have constituted a genuine alternative for local textile producers; or, to put it differently, manufacturers had discovered that movement across the Ottoman borders – in other words exportation – provided them with access to new markets.

Mobility of a different kind: eighteenth-century exuberance in the silk industry

The infatuation of Polish gentlemen with the Sarmatian style seems to have died down after 1700, yet once again Bursa craftsmen apparently managed to find new markets, for probate inventories from the 1730s show that townspeople, especially the female half of the population, now owned more textiles, both of silk and of cotton, than had been true in earlier periods.[53] While in the late fifteenth century the number of dresses, shirts and veils possessed even by better-off women was usually very modest, clothing chests of the 1730s often yielded several silk dresses, to say nothing of cushion covers, curtains and bed-quilts.[54] Moreover, husbands and wives could both be the proprietors of home textiles, but we normally possess the inventory of only one person in any given couple. Thus, we can hypothesize that the better-off families of the eighteenth century possessed quite a store of silk textiles, normally about twice the amount shown in the relevant inventory.

Presumably the silks owned by Bursa's inhabitants were not necessarily of the highest grade–but then a recent study has shown that even the Ottoman palace in its most prosperous days bought silks of vastly differing qualities.[55] In the middle of the eighteenth century, there were quite a few complaints concerning the quality of silk yarns made in Bursa, which were considered too light for the proper manufacture of *kutnı* and other fabrics.[56] Complainants argued that, due to this defect, the trade of the city was suffering and, from the central administration's point of view, such a decrease was a problem because it led to a decline in taxes. But perhaps the lighter *kutnı* was easier to sell in the local market? In any event, the *post-mortem* inventory of a moderately prosperous *kutnı* manufacturer, dated May 1790, contains dyed cotton and linen yarns, in addition to two different qualities of silk.[57] Apparently, *kutnı* came in many different

varieties: our register distinguishes *elvan* (coloured?) and *göz* (with an eye-shaped design?), flowered and white.

The deceased owner of these textiles, a Greek described as the son of Constantine, had entrusted most of his products to three other Greeks; either the latter had manufactured *kutnı* on behalf of their employer Constantine and had not as yet had a chance to deliver the finished product, or else they had been ordered to sell fabrics on account of the deceased. From the list of Constantine's debtors it is possible to discern his rather wide network of contacts in the artisan world. For, contrary to the normal practice of scribes working in qadis' offices, the person responsible for this particular register included the trades of many of the debtors. The son of Constantine had business relations with Muslims, a few Armenians and, of course, with members of his own community. Among the people with whom he traded there were quilt-makers, dyers, shoemakers, tailors, and even an imam. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine who had delivered goods to the deceased–this is probable in the case of the cleaners of cotton also mentioned in the inventory–and who had quite simply borrowed money.[58]

Less prosperous was the silk weaver Ebubekir b Abdullah, who ran a business that produced the silken wraps known as *futa* (1787).[59] Apparently, this man did not own any looms himself, but since he left 18 pieces of *futa* as yet incomplete, we can posit that Ebubekir had entered into putting-out arrangements of some kind. His shop contained an unspecified number of wraps, and, above all, different qualities of raw silk: *paybürek, harir-i şehri, pot*, and others.[60] As the amount of cotton yarn on the premises was minute, we can assume that Ebubekir's wraps were in fact made of silk, perhaps with just a tiny decoration in contrasting cotton yarn. How our craftsman sold his output is an open question, but the single debt owed by his estate may have been due to deliveries once made to Ebubekir but not yet paid for.

Thus Bursa's eighteenth-century manufacturers coped with the interruption of the supply of Iranian silk resulting from the wars that shook Iran during the last decade of Safavid rule and beyond.[61] This resilience was due to the extensive cultivation of mulberry trees and silkworms, which seems to have sufficed for the needs of local weavers. For a single year, namely 1775, the names of traders in Bursa silks appear in an account of the local tax officials, who recorded mainly sales of silk but also of cotton textiles.[62] Numerous Muslims, Armenians, Greeks and Jews at the time were doing business in this sector; unfortunately, the scribes did not record to which destinations these merchants ultimately took their wares. Apart from local manufactures, the then prosperous silk industry of the island of Chios

also depended at least in part on raw silk grown in Bursa, as local silk supplies were insufficient for the weavers' needs. Manufacturers of the well-known sashes (*kuşak*), that even the mid-eighteenth-century Ottoman palace passed out to its pages at religious festivities, thus depended upon a supply of Bursa raw material.[63] On the other hand, the eighteenth-century exportation of raw silk to Europe seems to have been rather limited; and the Italian scholar Domenico Sestini, who visited Bursa in 1779, confirmed that while some exportation existed, it was minor when compared to local consumption.[64] After all, English merchants were at the time, albeit temporarily, withdrawing from the Levant trade, as Bengali and Chinese silks proved more lucrative, and the head of the one and only French firm active in Bursa failed to convince anybody back home that the institution of even a vice-consulate was worthwhile.[65] This may have been due to the fact that Bursa silks were not much esteemed by contemporary French manufacturers: the firm of Garavaque & Cusson, well established in Izmir, wrote to their correspondents in Marseilles in 1769 that they had cancelled an exchange deal of French woollens against Bursa silk because of the anticipated loss on the latter.[66] Thus, it would seem that throughout the 1700s local manufacturers did not need to fear serious foreign competitors when it came to accessing raw material.[67]

It is perhaps even more remarkable that in the early nineteenth century, the Austrian consular official and notable Ottoman scholar, Joseph von Hammer, on his visit to Bursa found that the local silk manufacture was still prosperous–and he was certainly no all-out admirer of things Ottoman.[68] Presumably, Hammer's impressions dated from before the great economic crisis that followed the collapse of the Napoleonic regime in 1814–15, when bad harvests and the end of the war-related grain boom probably affected the Bursa textile economy as well. Von Hammer relayed an estimate that one hundred thousand pieces of silk fabrics left the city each year. This included velvet for cushions, *burundschik* (today: *bürümcük*) for vests and shirts, and also *kutni*, that this author described as a silk fabric, and not as a silk-cotton mixture, as normally assumed. Von Hammer was appreciative of the fanciful designs that ornamented the cushion covers, but especially of the striped semi-transparent *bürümcük* that in his eyes singularly enhanced female beauty.

Long-established but only documented in the 1700s: Bursa cotton fabrics

While much less evidence survives on the manufacture of cottons, this industry, which in fact continues to exist in Bursa down to the present

day, must also be taken into account when evaluating the city as an industrial centre. In this context the fabric known as *beledi* is of some interest, apparently a relatively low-grade material.[69] Ubiquitous according to the inheritance lists of the time, *beledi* was made in most cases out of cotton, but occasionally also of silk. Whether it was sometimes a silk-cotton mixture is difficult to determine. The relevant craft prospered in eighteenth-century Bursa, and once again, the inventory of a manufacturer and trader in this fabric provides some evidence on the manner in which *beledi* was made.[70] In contrast to the relatively prosperous son of Constantine, the *beledici* Halil b Halil, whose inventory was dated to 1786, must have been wretchedly poor. Apart from his loom and auxiliary implements, his shop held twenty-five cushions made of *beledi*, presumably finished but as yet unsold; the nine shirts on record must also have been intended for sale. Halil b Halil's basic raw material was evidently white yarn, probably of cotton; for purposes of decoration, he owned a small quantity of red yarn and a bit more of a type simply described as 'dyed'. As he was not owed any money and did not leave any debts either, we may assume that our *beledici* was an ordinary artisan who sold the goods he had himself produced, perhaps with some help from his family.

However, customers searching for cotton and a few other fabrics could find a much better selection in one of the large *bezzaz* shops that offered an impressive variety of such items arriving in the city from different parts of the Ottoman Empire. Such a shop was in fact documented in 1787, after the death of its owner Hacı Salih b Ahmed. The *post-mortem* inventory, valued at over 1,700 *guruş*, contained a veritable checklist of cotton textiles, often characterized by the name of the place from which they had come, or from which the design had once originated. Hacı Salih's inventory included what seem to have been 'ready-to-wear' turbans (*sarık*) wrapped six-, eight- or tenfold, at least if that is the proper interpretation of the terms *altılı, sekizli* and *onlu*. From Aleppo there came the fabric known as *alaca*, which might be of cotton or else of silk, in addition to silk wraps and sashes.[71] The Anatolian cotton town of Denizli and its surroundings, such as Ağras and Karacasu, were also well represented, among other things by a coarse fabric known as *yemeni*.[72] There were quite a few cottons that apparently had come from Bor, a small town of Southern Anatolia that in earlier times had not been noted for its textiles. In addition, there were fabrics described as 'flowered', without any further qualifications; presumably these were pieces from the Bursa region well known to the compilers of the register, which therefore did not need any further description.

Once again, Hacı Salih's business connections can be read off from the list of debts owed to his estate, as well as from the unpaid debts

that this merchant had left behind. A sizeable share of his 113 debtors, who taken together owed over 4,000 *guruş*, lived in the Bursa region, particularly in the villages or minuscule towns of Kestel, Karaman and Kite. Therefore, these may have also been the places in which Hacı Salih had his cottons woven. We may imagine that he ensured regular supplies for his shop by lending money to the weavers so that they would be under obligation to deliver whenever needed. In addition, Hacı Salih owed money to his suppliers: to a merchant who had brought in goods from Aleppo and to three others who had supplied *yemeni* fabrics for linings (*astar*) and the coarse material known as *bogası*, also favoured for underclothes and linings. Once again, as no places of origin have been mentioned, it is probable that these items had come into town from the immediate hinterland. All this activity is, moreover, consonant with Von Hammer's remark that blue and green 'linen' was worked into handsome wraps for the bath; however, in the latter source, there is a slight error, as our documents have shown such items to have been made mostly of cotton. These references are especially remarkable, since the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth constituted a period of serious economic difficulty throughout the Ottoman lands. Bursa seems to have escaped rather more lightly than other places.

The final years of an Ottoman textile centre: incorporation into the world economy

This concordance between Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources shows that down to the beginning years of the nineteenth century, Bursa was a centre producing textiles principally for the domestic market; and only in a minor sense did the city function as a source of raw or semi-finished material for European manufacturers. However, this situation changed after the end of the Napoleonic wars, and thus begins the third phase in the history of Bursa as an Ottoman textile centre: when, after the 1820s, local demand for silk cloth ceased to expand, some weavers turned to reeling in order to make a livelihood.[73] Not that silk-cloth production came to an end, but the ready availability of machine-made English cotton yarn meant that from mid-century onwards, cotton replaced silk in many textiles manufactured in Bursa.

On the other hand, demand for silk in Europe expanded once even members of the petty bourgeoisie could afford a 'Sunday best' silk dress. Moreover, an epidemic affecting silk worms hit Bursa later than it did Southern Europe, so that, for a short time during the 1850s, local silk growers could benefit from record-high prices before, in turn, their own worms were struck by the disease. The resulting price increases had the side-effect that growers found it more profitable to

export than to supply local weavers. However, once the know-how needed to develop disease-free populations of silkworms, developed by Louis Pasteur, had become established in Bursa as well, local production of silk textiles resumed.[74] Even so, the export of raw silk remained dominant, largely as a result of the Ottoman state-bankruptcy of 1875, which placed significant Bursa revenues in the hands of the Ottoman Debt Administration (Dette Ottomane), in which French interests prevailed.[75]

Thus, 'integration into the world economy' dominated by European capital did make Bursa producers vulnerable to fluctuations in world demand, while in earlier centuries, they had been concerned mainly with sultanic and later with Ottoman urban customers. Contrary to what has often been claimed, however, producing reeled silk for the factories of Europe did not mean the total demise of local manufactures. If the latter did not share in the phenomenal expansion that characterized factory output, at least they managed to hold their own by producing for local markets that Ottoman manufacturers, though often working with old-fashioned handlooms, serviced much better than their European competitors.

In a sense, we can say that Bursa industries existed as long as the Ottoman Empire did, as it was World War I that spelled the sultans' end, and, at least for the time being, that of the Bursa industry as well. Under wartime conditions export markets collapsed. At the same time, non-Muslim employers, who had achieved a dominant position under the sponsorship of the Dette Ottomane, for the most part left the city, and hard-to-replace mulberry groves were destroyed as the result of fighting, probably also because of the overall scarcity of fuel. In addition, female factory workers of the early 1900s had been largely Greek and Armenian, with only a limited Muslim presence, and most of these women also left the area, especially during the Greco–Turkish population exchange of 1923. Certainly, with official encouragement, silk production revived during the following years and Bursa even became a centre of factory-based textile production specializing in cottons and synthetics; but that is part of a different, post-Ottoman story.[76]

Back to mobility: a conclusion of sorts

Bursa's silk and to a lesser degree its cotton manufactures were thus subject to the demands of the Ottoman court, domestic customers and furthermore the world market. The sultans' political power and prestige also had an impact, in certain cases promoting consumption through emulation, but under different circumstances limiting the market for particular costly silks.

However, seen from a different angle, on which this book tends to focus, producers and purchasers alike acted in a world where constant comings and goings were the norm. In addition to merchants both domestic and international, 'the usual suspects', namely muleteers, donkey, and camel-drivers, to say nothing of human porters, made an often precarious living carrying raw silk, cotton and dyestuffs, as well as finished cloth. In certain cases these men and their animals also conveyed semi-finished goods from one place to another, for instance when cotton fabrics were woven in a village but sent to Bursa for dyeing. On one level these observations admittedly are quite elementary, but they are still worth making, for the sultans frequently admonished their faithful subjects to pay their taxes and stay in their accustomed places. As for nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, they have often used edicts of this type as supports for their claim that in the Ottoman world, stagnation was the dominant state of affairs. Hopefully the present chapter has shown that at least in Bursa, the opposite was often true.

CHAPTER 8

‘Just passing through’: travellers and sojourners in mid-sixteenth-century Üsküdar

On the margins: a rural environment on the way to integration into the capital

In the mid-1500s Ottoman Üsküdar was a small town, and administratively speaking it still belonged to Kocaeli province, whose centre was located in İzmit. Yet ties to Istanbul were intensifying, and already it was possible to foresee that ultimately the capital would draw the smaller settlement into its orbit.[1] Already in 1471–2 Rum Mehmed Pasha, grand vizier to Mehmed the Conqueror, had built a mosque, theological school and public bath; by the mid-sixteenth century this pious foundation, through its revenues and tax-farming contracts, was a significant presence in the life of Üsküdar. During the period that will concern us here, in 1548 the second major foundation came into being, a charity of Mihrimah, daughter of Süleyman the Magnificent.[2] The other stately foundation buildings that contributed a great deal to Üsküdar’s urbanization appeared only in the later 1500s and after. As for the increasing traffic between Istanbul and the villages surrounding Üsküdar, it led to the establishment of new landing stages: thus in 1562–3 the inhabitants of Çengelköy demanded and received a piece of land that from now onwards, was to serve for this purpose.[3]

Certainly the town was not a major centre of crafts or commerce, and the artisans whose names fleetingly appear in the qadi registers for the most part catered for purely local demand. Quite possibly, specialized artisans were still rare enough to be considered noteworthy: in quite a few instances men were identified not by their fathers’ names but by the trades of the latter affixed to their own personal names; thus we might encounter a Hasan son of the needle-maker, without any further precision. Moreover, if the inventories

recording the estates of deceased inhabitants that we find in the qadis' records were at all representative, even the relatively wealthy were not very rich.[4] Most of the goods appearing on the market were agricultural products: in the 1530s the prices fixed by the local qadi concerned grapes, watermelons, onions, figs, nuts and chestnuts. Further, we find only very few references to guild organization among artisans and retailers: these include a statement on the part of the fruit and vegetable sellers in the Üsküdar market, who claimed that they needed a senior person to distribute the incoming produce among them and obtained the appointment of what we may assume to be a guild warden. In a similar vein, the manufacturers of yoghurt asked for a *kethüda* of their choice, and their wish was granted by the qadi's court; by the 1560s the boatmen had an officially appointed headman as well.[5] Not by chance, these people all worked in transportation and the food trades.

As non-agricultural goods important enough to be assigned administratively determined prices, salt and soap were merely recorded by the scribes. Rice was the only commodity even slightly 'exotic': this grain might come to the town from Filibe/Plovdiv or else from Egypt.[6] The rusticity of Üsküdar becomes especially obvious when we compare its short lists of administratively decreed prices with those of Istanbul, although, admittedly the one surviving sixteenth-century text relevant to the Ottoman capital dates to the year 1501; in other words, it reflects the market as it had been a generation before the 1530s.[7] During those years Üsküdar did not even possess a covered market (*bedestan*), that emblem of urbanity in the Ottoman world. The inhabitants only petitioned for the construction of such a building in 1588–9, when they claimed that they needed a 'shopping mall' of their own, as bad weather often interrupted connections with Istanbul.[8]

Even so, Üsküdar had an important role to play among the three satellite towns surrounding the mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman capital. If Galata was the place where ships from foreign parts normally anchored, and the pilgrimage centre of Eyüp attracted both the devout and new migrants from the Balkans, by mid-century Üsküdar functioned as the gateway to Istanbul for all those arriving from Anatolia and places further east. Routine cases of theft maybe indicate that strangers from very different parts might pass through Üsküdar. Thus, in 1562–3, a man from Amasya confessed that he had stolen from a fellow resident in a local khan, the victim being from Sandıklı in the province of Karahisar-ı Sahib, today's Afyon. In another case, a man from Bursa appeared in the Üsküdar court to take possession of his stolen property; probably the thief had been caught in this latter town. Even a visitor from Iran appeared before the local

judge to reclaim his goods.[9]

Moreover, quite a large number of people whose names were recorded by the qadi's scribes were Orthodox Christians from Üsküdar or the surrounding villages. The population was therefore more diverse than might have been expected, given the small size of the settlement. Traders, people in search of refuge or employment, and provincials with business in the capital all passed through Üsküdar; and some of them stayed on.

Slaves of various backgrounds, captured in flight

In 1530s Üsküdar freedmen and -women seem to have made up a significant section of the local population. Evidence for that fact is indirect: the qadi registers only record an impressively large number of people whose patronymic was Abdullah. There certainly lived some men in the town bearing this name, and whose children, though coming from an ordinary Muslim family, would be identified as *bin* or *bint* Abdullah (son or daughter of Abdullah). As it was regarded as improper to refer to the 'infidel' father of a respectable Muslim, in the Ottoman world it was the custom to call new Muslims 'children of Abdullah'; this term, meaning 'slave of God', could be used for Christians and Jews as well. Certainly there must have been plenty of converts to Islam who had never been enslaved, but given the numerous references to escaped slaves in the Üsküdar qadi registers of the 1530s to 1560s, it seems fair to assume that as in late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century Bursa, a significant number of new Muslims had changed their religion, due to the promptings of their owners and masters. If they were lucky, these men and women later were manumitted and continued their lives as free residents.[10]

Escaped slaves showed up in Üsküdar rather frequently, probably hoping that they might find a ship to take them to Istanbul and from there to their homes; at the very least they may have hoped to find work as presumed freemen in the capital city, protected by the relative anonymity of the harbour district or a commercial khan.[11] References to slave women taking flight were a great rarity, but not completely unknown.[12] Most of the fugitives remained anonymous – possibly they had not yet converted to Islam – but others appeared in the records as Şirmerd, Hasan or İskender and thus must have been Muslims. In some cases the owners were known: quite often they came from small Anatolian towns such as Bolu, Bilecik, Sivrihisar or Geyve, but also from far more remote places such as Divriği near Sivas.[13] Villagers who owned slaves were not unknown either; for after major campaigns these people – who were normally quite expensive, fetching up to 2,500 *akçe* – might wind up in the hands of modest

provincials. Perhaps the latter had bought them from soldiers eager to turn their booty into ready cash.

On the other hand, the records but rarely mention slaves who belonged to residents of Istanbul and who for one reason or another had wound up in Üsküdar. A few exceptions, however, were on record: thus a slave whose owner resided in Istanbul was caught in Gebze and the authorities undertook to send him back. In the 1560s a Bosnian slave whose master lived in Thessaly got himself caught in Üsküdar, while a young Georgian attempted to strike out on his own after his owner, a cavalry-man from Livadya, had died. An African from faraway Bornu had escaped from his master in Istanbul, and even the Grand Vizier had a slave flee from his household, whom a guard captured in the village of Pendik.[14] Another fugitive belonged to an Istanbul saddler who lived in the quarter of Kalenderhane, not far from the great saddlers' workshop known as Saraçhane. The latter must have been a prosperous manufacturer, as apart from his escaped slave he could also rely on the services of a village farrier, whom the records described as 'his man'.[15]

We also possess a record from the last years of Sultan Süleyman's reign, in which two young Christian boys from outside the city and working for a non-Muslim tailor in the *intra-muros* quarter of Draman, followed another tailor named Mustafa to Üsküdar, if the latter did not simply kidnap them. Finally they turned up in the furnace room of a disused public bath, a place where homeless men and secret drinkers often spent time. A separate document recorded that their Istanbul master ultimately got them back. However, even though the two boys were once described as *gulam*, a term typically used for slaves, they appeared in the register with their Christian names and fathers' names, which was not a common manner of identifying people who were the property of others. Moreover, in different documents from the same register, people who were definitely free servants also were on record as *gulam.*[16] It is therefore possible that the two boys were really apprentices, for whom their fathers had found places in the capital.[17] Be that as it may, in the vast majority of cases, escaped slaves attempted to reach Istanbul.

In most cases that we know of, the escaped slaves had no immediate prospects of liberation. Few owners appeared in court with the intention of freeing their slaves; and apparently among the fugitives there also were but few cases of slaves under contract who knew exactly when their period of slavery was to end (*mükateb*). At present we cannot tell whether this finding is due to chance or forms part of a broader pattern.[18] Thus the few manumissions that we do find are worthy of special note: Dilara bint Abdullah, who sent Mesih bey b Abdullah to court so that he would free Dilara's slave woman Hurşid

bint Abdullah, is such an example.[19] Similarly, Fatma bint Alagöz, perhaps the daughter of the Üsküdar administrator Alagöz bey, sent a representative to the court to free her female slave Selür.

Presumably escapees in any case had ruined whatever chances of liberation they might otherwise have possessed, but in the register from the 1560s, we do find an escaped slave whose owner had made a formal commitment that his servitor would be free upon his own death.[20] Unfortunately the story as we can read it off from the register leaves us with more questions than answers. The slave, whose name is not known but who was of Hungarian background, belonged to a person from distant Çorum named Ahmed Emin b Mustafa, who in person appeared in the Üsküdar court and testified, apparently to the chagrin of a local administrator, that he was in fact the owner of the Hungarian, but that his property rights were limited due to his prior promise. What is more, the owner had brought along three witnesses, all the way from Çorum, who confirmed that Ahmed Emin was in fact the proprietor of the Hungarian slave and had promised that the latter would be freed upon his own death. Even more surprisingly, the fugitive declared that his owner had come to retrieve him because of a letter that he had written to Ahmed Emin, which may have meant that the slave was literate in Ottoman Turkish.

We are free to imagine all manner of scenarios: perhaps Ahmed Emin and his companions were merchants from Çorum, and the slave, who accompanied his master on the trip, had tried to strike out on his own when the group approached Istanbul. However, once the attempt had failed, the Hungarian may have thought that he was valuable enough to his master that the latter would take him back; and perhaps this solution was not as bad as remaining in the custody of the Üsküdar official and ultimately being sold back into unconditional slavery. Other stories are certainly possible, however.

In most instances the names of the captors were on record too: the latter only exceptionally were janissaries or servitors of the chief of police; much more frequently we find the names of ordinary inhabitants, Christians included. Some captors hoped for a reward from the proprietors. Others may have been merely busybodies who enjoyed their brief spell of notoriety. Some men were able to prove that they were not slaves at all but had been wrongly taken for such. Presumably runaway youngsters in search of adventure often risked enslavement once they had left the town or village in which they were known.[21]

Keeping records concerning those fugitive slaves who had been discovered and who now awaited return to their owners, formed a major item of business in the Üsküdar qadi's court.[22] For until the owners of the slaves arrived to claim their property, the latter were

imprisoned and a small amount of money served for their food and the expenses of their guards; presumably the money went to the men in charge of the Üsküdar lockup. In a few instances the prisoners managed to escape, yet we do not know for how long they roamed the countryside before re-capture, and whether there was even a minimal chance of making a dash for liberty.[23]

Given the Ottoman wars, first against the Jagiellon King Lajos II and later the Habsburgs over the fate of Hungary, which continued from the 1520s to the 1540s, it is not surprising to find quite a few Hungarians among the escapees. Some of these men may have been taken prisoner already in 1521 when Ottoman armies conquered Belgrade, then the principal fortress guarding Hungary's southern border. The so-called Arab slaves appearing in our texts must have been Africans. Sometimes the scribes stated explicitly that they meant Black persons; in one case the records mentioned wounds on the face and neck, which may have resulted from the fight which this man put up for his freedom.[24] As a separate category, the scribes recorded the occasional presence of a Habeşi, or a person from Bornu in Central Africa. Bosnians were also present, even in the later sixteenth century; thus in 1562–3 we encounter a young slave from this region whose owner, incidentally from Ayaş near Ankara, had not paid the tax of one fifth of the slave's value (*pencik*) that he owed to the Sultan's treasury. Another case concerned a Bosnian slave of the deceased governor of Lahsa, who had to confess in court that he had never been manumitted.[25] Some of these people may have suffered illegal enslavement, a crime that janissaries, among others, committed rather often.[26] As a further possibility, we may imagine that given the similarity of the relevant languages, the scribes of the Üsküdar qadi often confused Bosnians with Croats; the latter, after all, lived mostly on the Habsburg side of the border and thus were liable to appear on the slave markets as prisoners of war. However, at times Croats did appear as a separate category among the fugitive slaves.

Noteworthy is the large number of 'Rus' among the escapees; probably the term here refers to Slavic-speaking people of Eastern Europe, including both Ukrainians and Russians. Poles, on the other hand, seem to have been quite rare. The activities of Cossack pirates in the Black Sea region, which must have resulted in quite a few captures by Ottoman coast-guards, were probably not as frequent in the mid-sixteenth century as they were to become around 1600. Rus could become slaves for other reasons as well, though, for slave-hunting formed part of the livelihood of the Crimean Tatars, and many of their captives must have reached Ottoman markets. After all, as late as 1571 a Tatar raid reached Moscow and the attackers burned down much of the city. In quite a few cases the Üsküdar scribes thus

recorded the pale complexions (*asfarü'llevn*), blue or hazel eyes and blond/sparse beards of these outsiders.

In the seventeenth century, the Abaza from the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea were to form an influential group among palace servitors; a few fortunate men from this group might even become governors or viziers. But in the early to mid-1500s, the occasional Abaza appearing in the Üsküdar records were slaves of modest provincials, such as the unnamed man who had fled all the way from Bolu to the shores of the Bosporus, only to be caught by a cattle herdsman in the vicinity of Üsküdar.[27] Circassians also appeared, but rarely.[28] Only the people recorded as Megri, and who may have been Mingrelians, were apparently well represented among the slaves of northern Anatolia, even at this early date.

As our documents are laconic, many questions remain unresolved. One of the more puzzling ones concerns the reactions of escaped slaves: we very rarely learn that they were involved in fights, either before their capture or else when somebody had tracked them down and dragged them to the qadi's court. Did none of these people react violently? Or if some of them did, what was the reason why their captors, for instance, did not mention this fact in front of the qadi's scribes? Was it perhaps a source of embarrassment to have been beaten up by a mere slave? This question – along with many others – still awaits an answer.

Official controls of transit routes and transients

During the period concerning us here, the Ottoman central administration was not yet as seriously concerned with preventing immigration into Istanbul as its members were to be in the 1700s and early 1800s. After all, some eighty years earlier Mehmed the Conqueror had forced people from all over his empire to settle in Istanbul, and around 1500 his son and successor Bayezid II had done the same after the conquest of Akkerman and Kilia on the northern shores of the Black Sea. However, mechanisms for the control of people's movements were already in place even in the mid-1500s: connections to Istanbul were only possible by sea, and those inhabitants not fortunate enough to own their boats needed to use the services of ferrymen, or *kayıkçıs*.[29] These men, however, were few in number and closely monitored: in 1534–6 ten people were on record, every single one of them associated with a guarantor.[30] All *kayıkçıs* on record were Muslims.

Not all boatmen owned the vessels they worked. We also encounter substantial employers such as Bayezid b Yusuf, who owned eight boats and collected 60,000 gold pieces in a single year. We may assume that

he had made a profit of 7,500 gold pieces on each boat, for probably the boatmen had subtracted their shares before paying the remainder to their employer. If this substantial profit was not the result of unusual circumstances, but collected every year, large entrepreneurs in this business should indeed have been men of substance. However, before judging the prospects of such an entrepreneur, we would need to know the costs of the boats concerned and also the dues and taxes payable. Two shares in a boat, size unfortunately unknown, might run to 8,000 *akçe*, a substantial sum that gives us an idea of the size of Bayezid b Yusuf's investment. However, for 200 *akçe* it was possible to purchase a modest vessel. As for the servants of the boatmen, who probably did most of the rowing, they received a very modest wage, no more than 600 *akçe* a year. Moreover, the man whose contract has come down to us was forced by circumstances to promise that he would not demand any wages if he failed to complete a full lunar (*hicri*) year.[31]

In the first half of the sixteenth century it was not yet very frequent to have the rules of a craft formally spelt out and recorded, as was to be the custom in the 1700s,[32] but instructions survive that stated the prices for a trip from Üsküdar to Istanbul: if the boat was full, the boatmen collected one *akçe* from every two passengers; if only a few people wanted to travel, the latter needed to bargain in order to determine the fee.[33] In addition, the administration apparently considered it necessary to know what landing-stage any given boat belonged to, and by implication, where the relevant boatmen spent their time. Thus, when a boat 'registered' in Galata was found abandoned in Salacak, on the territory of Üsküdar, the court recorded a declaration to this effect, the local police officer (*subaşı*) taking charge of the vessel.[34] Unfortunately we do not know whether the owner ever appeared, and the boat ultimately returned to Galata. In 1562–3, however, it was fairly probable that the then administrator of Üsküdar, Alagöz bey, wanted to keep a boat that had washed up in his bailiwick but belonged to a man from Kasımpaşa. Bringing along the appropriate witnesses, the latter testified that the vessel in question had been caught in strong currents traversing the Bosporus and the Sea of Marmara; in this manner he evidently wanted to declare that there was a legitimate reason for the boat's being found so far from its usual port.[35]

Under certain circumstances boatmen were forbidden to carry people across the Bosporus, without there being any explanation why these ferry-men could not carry on business as usual. In one case a boat owner from Üsküdar admitted to have brought a group of people to his home town and was punished by *tazir*, which probably meant a beating. According to another entry a Christian from the village of

İstavros, to the north of Üsküdar and south of Beylerbeyi got off with a warning and was told to refrain from bringing people to Istanbul in the future. Probably this prohibition did not cut off all legitimate contacts between Üsküdar and the Ottoman capital. But some crossings definitely were illicit, and one of the men receiving an official warning had transported people from Istanbul to Üsküdar, in other words away from – and not into – the capital. Therefore this measure cannot have been aimed merely at preventing immigration into Istanbul; some other factor must have been involved too. However, in the cases encountered to date nobody claimed that, for instance on the basis of a recent sultanic command, transporting people from Üsküdar to Istanbul was prohibited on a general basis. In time we hopefully will solve this riddle.

In some cases controls had fiscal reasons: thus a Jewish employee of the Üsküdar customs farm had another Jew, presumably a trader, detained with the claim that while in Istanbul, the latter had paid customs duty for some but not all the goods in his possession. However, a search of the goods in question within the qadi's court revealed no items unaccounted for, and to ensure his future protection the (probable) trader made the customs farmer's man declare the negative result of his search in writing.[36] In other instances the collector of the one-fifth tax on imported slaves challenged people who brought slaves from Üsküdar to Istanbul. Thus the court scribes recorded the answer of a certain Hundi Hatun, who admitted that she had brought her slave woman Yasemin with her to Istanbul: although the text does not say so explicitly, probably the tax collector was trying to extract money, perhaps for a slave whose *pencik* had already been paid.[37]

Crossings with criminal intent

Occasionally we encounter complaints concerning boatmen who had taken travellers across the sea for criminal or at least dubious purposes: thus a gypsy named Deli Mustafa claimed that without his knowledge, his wife Kali had persuaded another gypsy called Yekmi to follow her from Istanbul to Üsküdar. As no further details are given, we cannot tell whether Yekmi was a youngster or an adult; nor can we determine for what purposes the abduction had taken place – or even whether such a thing had in fact occurred. All we do know is that Yekmi made a declaration to the effect that he/she had been conveyed to Üsküdar. Thus the victim should have appeared as an adult to the court; for her illegal doings, Kali landed in jail. However, after a short while her husband retrieved her. As for Yekmi, his/her further fate remains unknown.[38] Just as puzzling is the story of two Istanbul

women who claimed in court that the boatmen serving a palace official (*saray kethudası*) had taken them to Üsküdar; for what purposes remains unknown. As the two women did not claim that they had been kidnapped, perhaps it was an outing that had ended in a fiasco. Similar was the story of the Istanbul resident Hani Hatun, who, accompanied by a female slave, had taken a boat to the Princes' islands; for this trip the two boatmen in whose ship she had travelled received a beating. But if this Hani Hatun is identical with her homonym whose name recurs in the register a few entries later – this time the woman is described as being from Kadıköy – the return journey was even more disastrous. Hani and her slave had taken another boat; but now there was an accusation bandied about, exactly by whom remains unclear, that the boatman had raped his passenger. The former contested the accusation and swore an oath to clear his name; even so, the facts of the case are less than clear.[39]

Another story of a woman who apparently wanted to travel from Istanbul to Üsküdar and whose trip ended badly was on record in a register dating from the 1560s: two police officers (*ases, yasakçı*) in the service of an Üsküdar officeholder brought a certain Ali b Hasan from the town to court, declaring that they had received a complaint from a woman who accused Ali of illegally taking her to Bursa and robbing her of the clothes she carried with her. Apparently the police officers encouraged Ali to return the stolen goods and thus settle out of court, and the latter did in fact bring a bundle of women's clothing. But although the officers now had custody of the goods, Ali denied the whole affair. According to the victim, a woman from Eyüp, the story had happened as follows: she had believed herself safe when she entered Ali's vessel to travel to Üsküdar, because two women were already in the boat. However, the two turned out to be slaves and thus unable to help when Ali took her not to Üsküdar but to Bursa, imprisoned her in a khan and robbed her of her property, which in her enumeration appeared rather more valuable than in the account of the two police officers. Once again Ali, whom his victim even accused of having tried to throw her into the sea, tried to get out of the whole affair by a flat denial.[40] Rather less complicated was the case of two men and two women – one of the former a slave – who admitted that they had come to Üsküdar from Istanbul for an outing and in order to drink some wine and raki.[41] When captured by the police officer they admitted their adventure without hesitation.

Other instances in which people had been illegally carried across the Bosporus concerned present or former slaves. One of the worst was that of the freedman Mesih, who was seriously wounded when found by villagers living near Beylerbeyi; he died a short while afterwards. His former owner – and later on probably his employer – did not let

the matter rest and found out that three men from Istanbul had somehow persuaded Mesih to accompany them to the Anatolian shore of the Bosporus and had there killed him for reasons unknown.[42]

Üsküdar's mules and mule-drivers

When it came to securing the connections of Üsküdar with its Anatolian hinterland, mules had an important role to play; at least, in the period covered by the later of our two registers, they appear with considerable frequency. A deceased muleteer was found to own four mules and little else; but then he had died far from his home in Urfa, where he may have had additional property.[43] Some of the mule-drivers also traded; thus a certain Kara Ali, who in our texts figured as a muleteer, sold horses and borrowed money, perhaps for investing in his business deals. Good mules fetched good prices: six animals changed hands for fifty gold pieces (8.3 per animal) and thus were more expensive than at least the cheaper kind of horse. A mule worth ten gold pieces was also on record; and in yet another case a muleteer sold six mules for 130 gold pieces (21.7 per animal).[44] Feeding these creatures was expensive too, for a mule ate two *akçe*'s worth of straw and barley per diem, total boarding costs amounting to three *akçe*.[45] By contrast, a slave who had been captured and now awaited the arrival of his owner only received two *akçe* as living expenses, and that sum included payments to the guards.

Most records involving muleteers concern customers who had rented or wished to rent animals. Thus the trader İbrahim b Durmuş had contracted with a mule-driver named Mustafa b Emirhan for the transport of two loads to Amasya for the price of 140 *akçe* each; the court considered the agreement valid even though the merchant appears to have had second thoughts. Given the shorter distance from Üsküdar, carrying goods to Tosya was cheaper: when a muleteer had accepted to do the job for 125 *akçe*, the court held him to his promise, although the man visibly did not want to go. As for conveying a load of goods to Akşehir on mule-back, the price amounted to 75 *akçe*.[46] A man holding a large tax grant in Diyarbekir rented three mules from a muleteer domiciled in Darende, paying fifteen gold pieces for the trip, in other words five per mule. As for the governor of Kilis Canbolad bey, he had hired two muleteers from the district of Behisni near Malatya, who were to carry several loads from Kilis all the way to Üsküdar. Unfortunately the scribe apparently made a few mistakes in writing the contract, so that its full meaning escapes today's readers; but the upshot of it all was that the mule-drivers would receive two gold pieces for each of their animals.[47]

Moreover, the administrator of Üsküdar Alagöz bey, who during the

1560s was probably the most influential person in town, was involved in long-distance trade and had his goods transported on mule-back: a muleteer from the district of Tosya had conveyed goods worth fifty-two gold pieces, which by the time of recording he had only in part delivered to their rightful owner.[48] From the qadi register of those years, we also learn that a financial officer (*defterdar*) on his way to Egypt had hired a muleteer and horses; evidently this dignitary did not mean to travel all the way by sea. Even people returning from the hajj sometimes undertook the last leg of their journey on mule-back, as apparent from the case of a muleteer who had to hand over the property of a deceased hajji to the latter's son and heir.

From these bits and pieces of information it appears that in the mid-sixteenth century mules were more popular than camels or work-horses. After all, camel-drivers scarcely ever appeared in the Üsküdar registers, and we find only muleteers plying the northern road to Tosya and Amasya as well as the routes leading to the south-east. Mules and muleteers seem to have been less prominent in later periods; thus in the 1700s their places had been taken by *beygirci*s, in other words drivers who rented out horses.[49] But the reasons for this eclipse as yet escape us. Whatever the story may be, by the 1560s the muleteers were among the commercially most active people in Üsküdar, their debts, loans, sales and disputes making up a substantial portion of the qadi register compiled during those years.

In conclusion

Üsküdar owed its activity to the people who passed through; if the qadi registers reflect the social life of the town with reasonable accuracy, it was movement to and from the Ottoman capital that accounted for the presence of escaped slaves, boatmen and muleteers. When looking at the history of the town through its buildings, we tend to privilege sultanic initiatives and pious foundations, in other words the sedentary and monumental aspect. However, in the qadi registers, pious foundations appear more as sources of loans than as great builders or even employers of labour. Thus urbanism remains in the shadow: it is worth remarking that the well-known complex of Princess Mihrimah has not left any significant traces in the 1560s register.

At least as prominently as the world of solid inhabitants of a small town who lived out their lives among the gardens and vineyards of Üsküdar, our records present a world on the move. Even the means of transport changed, as at some undetermined time after the mid-sixteenth century transport entrepreneurs found workhorses more practical than mules. Illegal crossings of the Bosporus were not rare;

so was criminality related to mobility, as was to be true in the 1700s as well.[50] However, eighteenth-century documents being more prolix, with respect to the later period we can determine which 'assault and battery' complaints involved boatmen and other transport workers. In the mid-sixteenth century by contrast there were many cases of people on record who had traded insults and come to blows, but although we rarely learn what the dispute had been about and therefore cannot determine to what extent problems related to transport were involved. Perhaps given the larger number of boatmen – as we have seen, in the 1530s there had been only ten – the number of disputes concerning Bosporus crossings really had increased. But even in the earlier period, crossing the seas could be dangerous, especially for female travellers.

We can thus view Üsküdar as the gateway to Istanbul, where travellers to and from Anatolia entered the city. Muleteers, their animals and their customers covered long distances on their way to and from this place, linking towns in the remote south-east of Anatolia to the Ottoman capital. Many escaped slaves passed through, and perhaps not all of them were caught. Some boat owners – they were probably not very numerous – made large investments in and profited greatly from this traffic, which included not only simple crossings of the Bosporus, but also tied the Ottoman capital to Bursa. On the whole, Üsküdar was probably not yet as closely connected to Istanbul as it was to be in later ages, but the process of integration was already underway, and in certain respects quite far advanced.

CHAPTER 9

Mostly fugitives: the trials and tribulations of slaves in sixteenth-century Üsküdar

Most scholars who have studied Ottoman slavery focus on the nineteenth century or to a lesser extent on the sixteenth – as in the present case. An important reason for continuing interest in the 1800s is doubtless the long history of slavery in the Ottoman Empire: in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after the first prohibition of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf (1847), slavery was phased out rather than abolished.[1] The dissolution of Sultan Abdülhamid's harem in 1909 was a major step, when the numerous court slaves, both male and female, who had served the Sultan were sent back to their families, if any; however, slavery legally disappeared only with the empire's end. As this lengthy process has been documented in Ottoman archival materials and also in *belles lettres*, there is a wealth of information available, which unfortunately is lacking for the sixteenth century, where scholars have needed to make quite an effort before locating at least a few sources.

Why is the sixteenth century a second focus for historians of slavery, although when it comes to the fates of slaves not incorporated into the sultans' palace and army, the number of sources is quite limited? After all, the construction of an Ottoman society during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries involved the incorporation of numerous outsiders, and many of these had entered the Ottoman realm as slaves. In time some of these men and women went on to become the business managers of merchants, the weavers of valuable Bursa cloths and the mothers of their owners' children. Quite a few ultimately were manumitted, including certain young freedwomen who married well and ended up pious and wealthy enough to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.[2] Others spent their lives working the land, in the service of a private person, a pious foundation or even the public treasury; and

some of these slaves ran away, perished on the road, were recaptured and perhaps died after having existed for a few short years on the margins of Ottoman society. Since slaves often but not always converted to Islam, and thus played a significant role in the social order emerging in and around Istanbul and other Ottoman centres, it is important for historians of the empire's apogee to collect and make sense of the data concerning this still poorly understood category of people.

The sources and the perspectives they impose

By the early 1500s, the qadi registers (*sicil*), which contain the records of court cases, including – or not – the decisions of the local judge, survive for a number of Ottoman towns and cities; and here we find quite a few documents relevant to slaves and slavery.[3] Especially, records of non-contentious matters, such as sales, gifts, money loans and the division of most though not all inheritances are of value for our purposes, for in this context, the sales and eventual manumissions of slaves occur with some frequency. Unfortunately, where the region of 'Greater Istanbul' is concerned, only the records of Üsküdar on the Anatolian shore go back to the early sixteenth century: they begin in 1521. As for Galata, we have material on the second half of the sixteenth century (1561–72), which Nur Sobers Khan will discuss in her forthcoming dissertation.[4] However, we know nothing about the centre of Istanbul, in other words the walled city where the major slave market was located, for the earliest surviving registers for Istanbul properly speaking only date to the early 1600s.

As for the Üsküdar documents relevant to slavery, they have been studied in detail by Yvonne Seng, first in her dissertation and later in two important articles.[5] However, more recently a set of Üsküdar registers has become available in print, with indexes that are electronically searchable; therefore it is possible to follow the story of sixteenth-century slaves who for one reason or another wound up in Üsküdar, in much more detail than was previously feasible.[6]

Following where Yvonne Seng has left off, this chapter thus analyzes the data on slaves to be found in the Üsküdar register No. 9, which covers the period from 1534 to 1536. It is a pity that later published registers are not nearly as informative on slaves and their fates; thus while No. 9 has yielded 118 relevant documents, the register No. 26 (953–5/1546–9) only contains a very few such items.[7] I have therefore been obliged to produce a sequel to Seng's story, instead of comparing her results with the situation twenty to thirty years later, as originally I had planned to do. Qadi registers are 'capricious': even if a researcher limits his/her study to a single place,

between the *sicil*s covering individual years there can be significant variations in the quantity and quality of recorded documents, for reasons that are usually impossible to reconstruct. Whoever has worked with qadis' registers will have experienced this troublesome reality; we have to live with it.

Thus, to mention but one example, Yvonne Seng has encountered many instances of slaves obtaining their freedom. By contrast, the slightly later register examined here contains but few cases of manumission. Evidently the 'crop' of slavery-related cases differed from one year to the next, and only the study of fairly long periods will allow us to obtain – relatively – reliable results.[8] Because of the different perspectives offered by the registers consulted, Seng's emphasis is more on accommodation and integration, while the present chapter focuses on the trials and tribulations suffered by the slaves who fleetingly appeared in the Üsküdar *sicil*s. In real life both aspects must have been of importance, and if counter-factually we had the opportunity to ask slaves about their experiences, some people would have emphasized positive and others very negative features.

When all is said and done, however, Sicil No. 9 is an especially helpful source, as of 1,072 entries, including some brief jottings on the cover, fully 11 per cent covers matters concerning slaves. Sixty cases, or roughly one half of the slavery-related documents, concern the return of fugitive slaves to their owners. Furthermore, slaves in flight are the subject of additional documents as well, for we encounter slaves who had been recaptured, to whom a sum of money was assigned to pay for their upkeep and that of their guardsmen; this standard sum of money, called *nafaka*, was two *akçe* per day. By custom, a fugitive slave was held for three months or 90 days, the so-called *müddet-i örfiyye*; if within this period his owner did not show up to claim him, the slave then was sold at auction. In consequence, records of slave auctions also form a minor but significant part of the qadi's records.[9]

Apparently in practice the period of detention and/or the amount of the *nafaka* were negotiable: when a slave whose *müddet-i örfiyye* had expired was sold at auction to Kasaboğlu Mustafa for 1,400 *akçe*, the purchaser in addition paid 200 *akçe* for *nafaka.* Thus, either the slave had been held for 100 days or else the guards demanded a bonus; after all, the *nafaka* was meant to cover incidentals connected with the slave's detention, so that we do not know how much the guards might spend on the food and – doubtless scanty – material comforts that they allowed the slave. In addition to the 200 *akçe* for *nafaka*, the buyer paid 90 silver coins to the treasury (*miri*) and 50 *akçe* as a standard fee to the man who had once captured the slave (*müjdegâne*), in addition to scribal dues: 21 *akçe* for entry of the case into the register (*sicil*) and

26 for the issuance of a separate record of the sale (*hüccet*). Apart from the price of the slave, the purchaser thus paid 387 *akçe* of extra expenses to the *emin* Mustafa, who had been in charge of the sale.

A few cases concern men who had been imprisoned as slaves but then turned out to be free; unfortunately the register does not tell us whether the victims could claim an indemnity for the discomfort and indignity they must have suffered. An entry concerning the tall Bosnian Mehmed laconically tells us that this man had been released because after spending some time in prison, it turned out that he was not a slave at all.[10]

A small town where slaves had been settled – and where they wound up when trying to flee

In the Roman and Byzantine periods Chrysopolis/Scutari, as Üsküdar was called by Greeks and Romans, had been of limited importance compared to Byzantion, to say nothing of the late-Antique capital of Constantinople. Even so, recent excavations have shown that a town existed here in the Archaic and Classical periods already, while in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries CE Scutari possessed at least one substantial church or chapel with an apse near the coast, which has recently been excavated. At one point the area must have been a burial ground, as skeletons have been found in situ; these interments must, however, have preceded the construction of the church, whose foundations survive, as well as traces of its outer walls.[11]

Üsküdar's history as an Ottoman town also goes back a long way. Much of the Anatolian shore of the Bosporus was conquered by the sultans long before the walled peninsula became part of their realm. Perhaps the site remained Byzantine for a while, and/or during the early 1400s the locality was more or less abandoned, for the first mosque in the town was the foundation laid by Mehmed the Conqueror's grand vizier Rum Mehmed Paşa (d. perhaps in 1474). The town of Üsküdar, which formed part of the sultanic crownlands (*hass*), must have remained quite insignificant for many decades, for an abridged tax register (*icmal*) from 1530 does not even record the settlement as the centre of a district (*kaza*) but simply as a town (*nefs*) in the sizeable *kaza* of Gegbuze/ Gebze.[12] In this register there is no indication at all that Üsküdar was situated but a short boat ride away from the Ottoman capital, and that in the near future its inhabitants were to develop very close ties to Istanbul.

In 1530 Üsküdar had no more than eight urban quarters, populated by 175 families and 50 bachelors. If for the sake of argument we assume that a household consisted of five people, and that given the proximity to Istanbul 20 per cent of all householders did not appear in

the count because they were functionaries of one sort or another, we arrive at an estimated population of some 1,100 persons. However, the presumably unrecorded 'extra population' may well have been smaller, since the register already includes quite a few people who were servitors of the Sultan (*askeri*): a teacher in the local college, some retired officials and mosque employees, in addition to a few soldiers stationed in a tiny fortress by the sea; only the number of slaves remains completely unknown as they did not feature in the register. Apparently the authors of this document were not sure how to classify the place, as at one point they called Üsküdar a *kasaba*, a term which in administrative parlance usually denoted an urban settlement rather less important than a *nefs*. Presumably, by housing an appreciable number of people serving the sultan or local pious foundations, Üsküdar made good its claim to being a fully fledged town.

Interestingly the Üsküdar villages of Ak-kenise and Evrepe (?), also known as Maltepesi (today Maltepe, meaning cattle-hill), were inhabited by people who had been settled on the land as sharecroppers (*ortakçılar*), we do not know by which sultan. Nor do we have any information about their places of origin.[13] In Maltepe, these families, 18 in number, received 18 pairs of plough-cattle in addition to one *müdd* of wheat and one *müdd* of fodder. These resources came from the Sultan's treasury, and the sharecroppers had to pay over one half of their harvests to the fiscal authorities. Perhaps these people were the descendants of state-owned slaves settled on the land, but we cannot be sure, as the ambiguous term *kullar*, which might denote 'servitors' but also 'real' slaves, is conspicuously absent, and the men in question simply feature as *ortakçılar*. Ömer Lütfi Barkan has claimed that due to their special disabilities, particularly the prohibition to marry outside of their community, *ortakçı kullar* were closely akin to the serfs of medieval Europe.[14] Be that as it may, given the presence of the *ortakçılar* in the immediate vicinity, we may regard Üsküdar as an especially suitable site for a discussion of servile labour.

Whatever the connection between *ortakçılar* and slavery, the qadis' registers are not concerned with servitors of the treasury but with slaves belonging to individuals. A casual look at the owners of slaves appearing before the judge, either in person or through their representatives, shows that most were ordinary subjects of the sultans, without any titles, inhabitants of small towns and even villagers. As one example among many, there was Abdi b Halil, from the village of Yenipınar/Geyve, who owned a male Bosnian slave. Other slave owners lived in Bilecik, as did Mehmed b Mustafa, or else in the village of Melikşah in the district of Akhisar, further to the south.[15]

Remarkably there were not too many owners domiciled in nearby Istanbul who came to the Üsküdar court to pick up their recaptured slaves; in any case, those owners who really belonged to the elite, including the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa, who in our records appears with his title Serasker Sultan, never appeared in person but always sent their representatives.[16] Perhaps slaves escaping in Istanbul, especially if they came from the Balkans or Hungary, tried to make their way towards the West, and only those who had been working in Anatolia passed through Üsküdar on their ill-fated attempts to escape.[17] In any case, the sizeable number of slaves belonging to villagers indicates that in the early 1500s it was not unheard of for ordinary peasants to employ servile labour, while in later periods the ownership of slaves was a privilege connected with wealth and high status.

After all, this was a time when victorious campaigns threw up great numbers of captives, who were not in a position to offer large sums of money as ransoms and thus often ended up in servitude. We can hypothesize that immediately after Ottoman or Tatar campaigns there were so many captives that they were affordable even to better-off villagers: a slave whose owner had not turned up to retrieve him changed hands at auction for 700 *akçe*, not an enormous sum, although this particular slave may have had significant defects.[18] However, once some time had passed, slaves in good condition, both male and female, probably gained in value quite rapidly. The register entries referring to slave sales show that the men typically were priced between 1,000 and 2,000 *akçe*, a sizeable amount of money by the standards of the time; in the case of females, even higher prices were occasionally on record.

As Halil Sahillioğlu has shown with reference to contemporary Bursa, it took about ten years for the captives of Balkan campaigns to show up in the qadis' records, because they were sold, managed to abscond or else were manumitted. Manumission often occurred after the slave had provided a service specified by a legally binding declaration of the owner before witnesses, or even documented through a record in the qadis' registers (*mükâtebe*). Or else the enslaved person might benefit from a promise by their owner that at the latter's death the loyal slave would obtain his/her freedom.[19] But as previously noted, only a few texts dealing with these kinds of manumission appear in the register studied here.

As Islamic law in its Hanefi variant particularly values oral over written testimony, in principle it would not have been necessary for the owner to go to court to free his/her slave. Legally speaking, a declaration before witnesses would have sufficed. However, *mükâtebe* and *tedbir* probably quite often resulted in an appearance in court;

after all, these promises bound the owner, who could not unilaterally break them. Probably the slave as the beneficiary would have wished for a court record of the promise that, in due course, would hopefully free him or her. This concern was of particular significance when the owner had opted for the *tedbir*, because by definition he/she would be dead when the slave obtained his/her freedom; on the other hand, the heirs might be tempted to challenge the bequest. Until we find evidence to the contrary, I would suggest that perhaps *mükâtebe* and *tedbir* were more frequent whenever jobs in craft production and commerce, or supervisory work in agriculture, demanded significant qualifications and hence motivation on the part of the slave.

Once in Üsküdar: slaves in flight and slave hunters

More importantly, after manumission it was in the best interests of a freedman or freedwoman to obtain a written document. In Üsküdar, as elsewhere, there were men who had farmed the due known as *müjde-i abd-ı abik*, or *müjdegâne*, that fell due when a fugitive slave was captured and returned to his/her owner. These men, often known as *yavacı* or *yaveci*, were more than ready to arrest supposed slaves and demand payment from the putative owners. Until the status of the arrested person was cleared up, he might be held under very uncomfortable conditions. Thus, when four fugitives escaped from the jail of the local administrators (*amils*) of Kadıköy, the men in charge of the lockup claimed that '[the fugitives have] broken open the prison, torn the chains, ruined the lock of the jailhouse and destroyed the fetters'.[20] Free-persons, especially if young and inexperienced, might have a hard time proving that they were 'regular' subjects of the Sultan. Thus a young man named Piyale was arrested as a putative slave, but to his good fortune, he was able to show that he was in fact free, a so-called *illik* in the household of a functionary (*kapıcıbaşı*) serving a provincial governor.[21] Apparently Piyale was a free follower of his employer.

In charge of what today we would call police affairs, the *subaşı* of Üsküdar, who might at the same time hold the office of *emin* or steward, was the main figure taking charge of fugitive slaves who had been recaptured, but a number of less prominent persons were involved as well. Moreover, these people might aggressively compete for the payments to be collected from the owners of arrested slaves: thus a man named Matara, son of Yorgi, had to admit that he had told a lie when claiming that he had found two fugitive slaves in İstavros (today: Beylerbeyi), when in reality the capture had taken place in nearby Çengelköy.[22] Accompanied in court by another Orthodox man, Matara claimed that he had told this lie because he was afraid of the

local low-level administrator (*amil*); not that it did him much good, for he still was punished for his lie. Presumably the *amil* of İstavros had either threatened or enticed the finders of slaves to make declarations that would procure him a financial advantage.

Apart from the people officially in charge of recuperating fugitives, there were also private persons who tried 'to make a killing' in this manner. A certain Kiracı Yani, who at least officially made a living by hiring out animals, seems to have earned extra money as a kind of sixteenth-century bounty hunter. In one of the Üsküdar records this man advertised the fact that he had captured two slaves, and was now looking out for a reward from the owner(s). However, two people went to court expressly to state that the men touted by Yani were not their property. A certain Rıdvan b Şaban also in the end refused to pay the *müjdegâne* of 50 *akçe* which he and Yani had evidently been negotiating about. Unfortunately we do not know the background of this affair, but it does seem as if Yani was a less than respectable person, whom his contemporaries did their best to avoid. This tale also shows that slaves in flight could not necessarily count on the sympathies of the local Christians, although quite a few fugitives probably had not (yet) accepted Islam.[23]

A virtual cross-section of Üsküdar male society could be found among the captors applying for their rewards – where slave-hunting was concerned, women were nowhere in evidence. Evidently, people who spent much time outdoors were most likely to find absconding slaves. In some cases the document even recorded that the fugitives had been found in a garden or vineyard. Among the claimants to the *müjdegâne*, often amounting to 50 *akçe*, there were janissaries, candidate soldiers (*acemioğlan*), people described as *bahçeoğlanları*, who may have served the Sultan as gardeners, as well as ordinary villagers and townsmen. As noted, Orthodox Christians also featured among the captors. It is a measure of our profound ignorance of Ottoman mentalities that we do not know whether all subjects of the Sultan approved of these slave hunts, or whether perhaps some people felt that such behaviour was contrary to charity, be it Muslim or Christian.

Slave kidnappings

Even if a slave had found a reasonably stable situation in a respectable household, he still could be exposed to the casual violence of transients, as evidenced by the kidnapping of İlyas b Abdullah. This man belonged to a certain Rukiyye Hatun, about whom the text says nothing, but who must have been a woman of some means. Even so, Hayreddin Kethüda, a military man in the service of a certain Kasım

Ağa, not only kidnapped İlyas and carried him off to serve on campaign, but also robbed his clothes and spending money. İlyas' outfit therefore must have been worth taking. Since the slave also carried money that the protocol called *harçlık*, which is an unlikely term for money that the slave might have stolen, we may assume that İlyas had been in Üsküdar on a legitimate errand when he had the misfortune to encounter Hayreddin Kethüda. Moreover, it is likely that the declaration in court only served to clear İlyas' name from possible accusations of theft and flight. For the culprit was nowhere in evidence, and the slave could consider himself fortunate that he had at least made it back to Üsküdar in one piece.[24]

Another kidnapping aborted at the last possible moment: a certain Ali b Rüstem, who was a stranger to Üsküdar for he was domiciled in the Hamzaoğlu urban quarter (*mahalle*) on the island of Ağrıboz/ Euboa, had persuaded the slave of a local dignitary named Çavuş Hayreddin Bey to follow his abductor first to Istanbul and perhaps later to some other unknown destination.[25] However, on the way to the boat that Ali b Rüstem had secured by promising the boatman cloth for a turban, the would-be kidnapper was stopped by the *subaşı* and a local artisan. We do not know why they considered Ali a suspicious character; for as he was at pains to explain, the boatman and the slave had gone on ahead so that he was alone when the *subaşı* stopped him. In all of this Ali had a partner in crime whose identity remains unknown, perhaps because he had managed to run away. It would be fascinating to know what kinds of promises Ali had made to the probably young and inexperienced slave; but that was not an issue that the Üsküdar court was concerned about.

In a less dramatic case, the would-be kidnappers were an Armenian irregular soldier or sailor (*levend*) named Karagöz, together with the janissary Mustafa, who was part of the corps of the Sultan's gardeners (*bostaniyan*). While drunk, Karagöz had attacked the servant of a pious foundation (*cabi*), an official who at least in Üsküdar also was in charge of escaped slaves.[26] The two men had taken the prisoner whom the *cabi* was conducting, whether this man was a slave or not remaining unclear. Evidently this adventure was part of a drunken spree, as Karagöz was still inebriated when brought to court and could not be restrained from inappropriate speech, probably swearwords. The court preferred to not record whether the janissary had also been drinking; the whereabouts of the prisoner whom Karagöz and the soldier had tried to abduct likewise remained unknown.

The life-risks confronting slave women

Üsküdar in the 1530s, with soldiers and other transients a significant

share of the population, was not a peaceful place as, we have seen; in this situation freepersons quite often suffered abuse of one sort or another. However, slave women and girls (*cariyeler*) probably were more exposed than anyone else. Thus we learn that the servants of the sultan's chief taster (*çaşnigirbaşı*) had brought a group of slave dancing-girls (*çengi*) from Istanbul to Üsküdar.[27] Apparently the men had acted without instructions, as the *subaşı* of Üsküdar took charge of one of the girls, who was still a minor, and had the fact registered in court. He then found out that the child belonged to a certain Kamer Hatun of Istanbul, about whom once again there is no information at all. Nor does the text say whether the *çaşnigirbaşı*'s men had kidnapped the girl or whether Kamer Hatun had perhaps sold her. None of the scenarios that readily come to mind is very reassuring when it comes to the little dancing-girl's future.

Adult slave women also were at risk: while such a person, name unknown, was doing the household washing by the seaside, she was hit over the head by a certain Ahmed b Abdullah. The woman was the property of Mahmud, patronymic unknown, who insisted that the attacker confess his aggression in court.[28] No details are given, so that we do not know whether Ahmed had attempted rape or whether he had wanted to steal the laundry, which after all would have been of some value to a poor man.

Even more dramatic was a case involving the slave woman Gülşan, who had given birth to a daughter named Fatma.[29] After Gülşan's owner Davud had died, his heirs went to court, claiming that little Fatma was not their (half) sister, as she would have been if Davud had recognized her. Gülşan had no option but to confess that she had been raped by the slaves of her former owner, with Fatma's birth presumably resulting from this event. In more than one way, Gülşan's testimony was a disaster both for herself and for her child: not only had she been constrained to admit formally her dishonour, she also lost her claim to the status of a slave woman who, as her master had recognized, had borne the latter's child (*ümm-i veled*). In consequence she had no claim to the automatic manumission an *ümm-i veled* enjoyed after her owner's death. In addition, her child not only lost her share of the inheritance, as presumably Davud's heirs had intended when they took the case to court: through her mother's confession Fatma also became a slave, while if Davud had recognized her, she would have been a free-born person.[30]

Even when a slave owner had promised his female slave that she would be free after his death (*tedbir*), it might be hard actually to secure manumission. One of the difficulties stemmed from the fact that the *tedbir* was considered equivalent to a will; however, nobody could will more than one third of his/her inheritance away from his/

her legal heirs.[31] Thus, the latter might challenge manumission by claiming that the value of the slave surpassed the 33 per cent that religious law permitted. Or else creditors might try simply to disregard the slave's status and demand him/her as a payment for the deceased master's debts. Perhaps such a dispute formed the background to the assertion of the Muslim woman Sultan bt İsa, who responded to the demand of Mustafa b Abdülaziz that she should hand over a *cariye* in her possession: for fifteen years, so Sultan declared, this woman had been a *müdebber* of her father's, the implication being that she could not be given away under any circumstance.[32] It remains unclear why the plaintiff applied to Sultan and not to her father, who must have been alive for this dispute to have occurred at all; perhaps he was incapacitated in some fashion.

In Safer 942/August 1535, Hüsam Bey b Abdullah, apparently based in the district of Samandıra near Üsküdar, found a rather more elaborate means of challenging the validity of a *tedbir*. At the time this personage was in charge of the inheritance belonging to the orphans of a certain Ahmed Bey b Abdullah, from the same locality.[33] At some undetermined time in the past, a man named Minnet had purchased a female slave called Gülendam, forming part of the inheritance of Ahmed Bey, and then promised to free her through *tedbir*. In due course Minnet had died, and Gülendam obtained her freedom. However, to protect the interests of the minors by obtaining the highest possible price for the slave woman, Minnet should have purchased her at auction. Or at least that was the contention of Hüsam Bey b Abdullah, who now asserted that as far as he was concerned, he had legally bought Gülendam from the orphans' inheritance, presumably at auction in this instance. Now, supposedly, the woman was his property, and Hüsam demanded that she be handed over to him. As Minnet also had at one time in the past been in charge of overseeing the inheritance of Ahmed Bey's orphans, he should have known the rules, but as he now was dead, Minnet's son Mustafa, who at the first stage of the proceedings appeared in court to answer on his deceased father's behalf, seems to have been at a loss as to how to counter Ahmed Bey's claim.

The case got even more complicated when a short while afterwards, Hüsam Bey went a step further and stated that Minnet and the unnamed person who had sold Gülendam to the latter had engaged in a fake transaction (*muvaza'a*) which hurt the interests of the orphans.[34] As proof he mentioned the price: supposedly a *cariye* worth 2,500 *akçe* had been sold for 1,700; Hüsam thus claimed that the sale to Minnet was fraudulent and therefore invalid, demanding once again that Gülendam be handed over to him as the real owner. Mustafa b Minnet countered that the person in charge of the orphans' property, a

man only described as '*acem*' and thus possibly of Iranian background, had approved of the sale; and so had the qadi in office at that time. Needless to say, Mustafa now had to find witnesses and perhaps documents to corroborate his statements. We do not know whether he could have done so, for at this point mediators (*muslihun*) intervened; quite often contenders decided to settle out of court if their legal proofs were not of the highest quality. As the price for a settlement, Gülendam, who seemingly was present at this later hearing, agreed to pay Hüsam Bey 500 *akçe*; and in front of numerous witnesses he renounced all further claims in this dispute.[35]

Readers of the twenty-first century will ask whether the case against Mustafa b Minnet and Gülendam was simply a stratagem to obtain more money, interestingly not from Mustafa as Minnet's heir but from the freedwoman; what would have happened had she not been able to pay remains one of the many unknowns in this case. As noted, Minnet had been in charge of administering the orphans' inheritance as their *vasi*; and after his death his son Mustafa admitted that Minnet still owed the estate cash and goods amounting to the impressive sum of 14,500 *akçe*.[36] Thus Hüsam Bey's demand for money – surely he would have sold Gülendam if the court had awarded her to him – implied that the freedwoman's narrow escape was only part of a general settling of accounts concerning the inheritance of Ahmed Bey b Abdullah: perhaps one of the heirs was about to reach his/her majority.[37]

Apparently the story of the mediators intervening at the last minute was part of the *mise en scène*, as a day or two before the final settlement, Gülendam had recognized owing Hüsam Bey a debt of 550 *akçe*: 500 for an unspecified reason and 50 *akçe* as payment for 'something written' (*kitâb bahası*).[38] We do not know but can surmise that the 500 silver coins corresponded to the sum of money that Gülendam shortly afterward handed over to Hüsam Bey; perhaps the 50 *akçe*, not mentioned in the later agreement, were a fee for the paperwork involved, which she had already paid.

Samandıra, the scene of all these convoluted manipulations, was no more than a village, and the events recorded in the qadi's register in connection with the inheritance of Ahmed Bey b Abdullah had a distinctly rural flavour. Thus Malkoç b Hamza, whom Hüsam Bey had made into his representative for the collection of outstanding debts, also went to the judge to solve a problem of his own: a village cowherd had allowed a wolf to devour one of his cows, and now the hapless herdsman was sentenced to pay for the damage.[39] Moreover, Mustafa b Minnet, whom we have already encountered in the Gülendam case, and a man named Mürüvvet b Minnet, who was probably his brother, both owed the estate of Ahmed Bey money. At

least Mürüvvet was in dire straits, as he sold his house to the orphans, with the option of redeeming it after a year, a transaction often used to disguise a loan at interest.[40] However, these sums were quite petty when compared to the 14,500 *akçe* owed by Minnet and previously referred to; the reason for these minor debts remained unknown. Given this rural setting, in which cash must have been scarce, it is surprising that Gülendam was able to find the 550 *akçe*; who knows, perhaps she had married well or was about to do so.

Other slave women, by contrast, had to work for many years to earn a sum of this size, as evident from the story of a *cariye* named Hurşîd.[41] This woman appeared in court together with a man named Süleyman b Davud, to whom she had contracted herself out for six years. For this lengthy service, whose nature remained unspecified, she was to receive 1,000 *akçe.* When the case came to court, her time of service apparently was not yet complete, but it must have been approaching its end. Hurşîd declared in court that her employer had paid her 203 *akçe*, so that he still owed 797 silver coins. Süleyman b Davud agreed, without specifying when he intended to pay over the remainder. Hurşîd's owner, who did not feature in the transaction at all, may well have permitted her to hire herself out and use the money to purchase her freedom; but this is an optimistic interpretation of the few lines documenting Hurşîd's case.

Conclusion

People familiar with Üsküdar in the 1900s and 2000s know this section of Istanbul as middle class, with a strong component of shopkeepers and artisans, as well as self-consciously Muslim, as opposed to the more cosmopolitan township of Kadıköy or the nearby Bosporus village of Kuzguncuk. However, in the mid-1500s Üsküdar was a place where many inhabitants were non-Muslims, and in addition the registers contain so many 'sons of Abdullah' that recent converts must have made up a large share of the Muslim population. Thus, in the story of Gülendam, both her first owner Ahmed Bey and her would-be proprietor Hüsam Bey probably were converts, who as the title *bey* indicates, must have made successful careers, most probably in the military.

People of many different parts of the empire passed through Üsküdar, and the Ottoman government of the time seems to have viewed this melange as a source of trouble, a concern which explains why our register contains a list of the boatmen who alone ensured contact with Istanbul, the name of each person's guarantor being appended to his own.[42] We are left to wonder what happened to the boatman who for the sake of a turban-cloth had been willing to ferry

an abducted slave across the Bosporus; for in this period the authorities distinguished between 'approved' and 'illicit' crossings, although we have not yet figured out the exact criteria by which they made their decisions.[43]

In the early 1500s slave-holding was widespread, not only in the little town of Üsküdar with its – present or former – state-slaves labouring in agriculture, but also in the villages of north-western Anatolia. This fact is noteworthy, all the more as the material goods recorded in inheritance inventories of the time tended to be quite modest, as one might expect to find in a rural context. When villagers and inhabitants of small towns somehow acquired a slave, this person probably was by far their most valuable possession. Whether Gülendam was worth 2,500 *akçe* as Hüsam Bey claimed, or 1,700 *akçe*, which was the price that Minnet had paid for her, she must have been one of the most valuable components – if not *the* most valuable component – of the inheritance that Ahmed Bey b Abdullah had left to his children.

Presumably the reason for this high value placed upon slaves was the fact that north-western Anatolia was but thinly settled. After all, Mehmed the Conqueror after taking Constantinople had made great efforts to bring people to his new capital 'full of Islam' (İslâmbol); and while the walled city had grown substantially by the early 1500s, Üsküdar remained a very small place and most villages of the area contained only a few households. Presumably this situation explains, at least in part, why people tried to kidnap both male and female slaves. The latter were especially valuable because they could become the mothers of a new generation. It was up to the owner whether he wanted to recognize the child and thus gain an 'extra' descendant, or whether he decided to repudiate it and thus acquire a further slave. As we have seen, the unfortunate Fatma probably suffered the latter fate, when she became part of the inheritance accruing to the children of Davud, the deceased owner of her mother Gülşan.

Given these circumstances, people who freed a slave, whether directly or through *mükâtebe* and *tedbir*, made a significant sacrifice, either in person or else indirectly through their future heirs. Therefore the integration of slaves and ex-slaves into Ottoman Muslim society, which indubitably occurred during these years, did not 'just happen', but depended on the charitable impulses or 'sense of appropriateness' of a large number of slave owners who often enough, lived in straitened circumstances themselves.

Whether they were really runaway slaves or merely assumed to be such, the people who spent several days, weeks or months in the discomfort and danger of the Üsküdar lockup also were victims of this relative lack of manpower. As slaves were so valuable, the reward for

a man who captured a slave in flight was substantial too. For the standard *müjdegâne* payment of 50 *akçe*, a man could buy a woollen caftan, or two large pails, or else a quilt and a cushion on which to sit.[44] Often enough it must have been the need for such everyday goods that prompted people to capture a slave and bring him to court. At the same time, it would be imprudent to disregard the simple impulse to 'give chase', which, as we have learned through bitter experience, seems to be so widespread that it is possibly part of the genetic makeup of humankind.

CHAPTER 10

The adventures of Tunisian fez-sellers in eighteenth-century Istanbul

Istanbul's population

Before the improved hygiene of the late 1800s and especially the twentieth century, large towns and cities normally did not reproduce themselves. This fact of life is well documented where Western and Central Europe are concerned, and likely Istanbul was in the same situation, given the numerous plague epidemics from which the inhabitants of the Ottoman capital suffered well into the 1800s. As a result, cities of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries could only maintain themselves if enough immigrants arrived in every generation to close the gap. Given the hopes of many provincials for a better life, new men, and, to a lesser extent, new women, did in fact regularly appear on the urban scene.

Especially, the capitals of empire, such as Rome, Byzantium, late-medieval Venice or nineteenth-century London, all received their quotas of immigrants, and the gaps caused by epidemic and endemic diseases were often closed within a very few years. Once again presumably the situation was no different in Ottoman Istanbul, though population data on this city are much less abundant or reliable than those pertaining to provincial centres of trade such as Salonika, Damascus or Diyarbekir. The first actual count of the capital's inhabitants was completed in 1844, when the officials recorded 213,992 males, a figure that may have corresponded to a population of about half a million.[1] By this time, Istanbul was already receiving numerous refugees and immigrants from the Balkans, where Ottoman rule was in full retreat. Going back in time, Betül Başaran has estimated that in the late 1700s the city was home to about 420,000 people, while the French doctor Antoine Olivier, who in the 1790s had access to data on Istanbul's grain supply, estimated a population of over half a million.[2] As to the earlier 1700s, for figures concerning the

total population we must be content with more or less educated guesses, Halil İnalcık suggesting a figure in the 300,000 range.[3] But enough indirect evidence exists to show that at this time as well, the capital of the Ottoman sultans was settled by many newcomers in search of work and perhaps a small share of the joys of life.

Difficult and yet widespread: immigration into the Ottoman capital

However, the situation in eighteenth-century Istanbul was somewhat paradoxical. As noted, dramatic losses were caused by the plague epidemics that decimated the city's population during ninety-four years out of the one hundred and fifty covered by Daniel Panzac's path-breaking study.[4] Yet Ottoman administrators were not much concerned with filling the void caused by these hecatombs; rather, they were concerned with limiting or even preventing migration to the capital. In consonance with this concern – and also with the conclusions arrived at by Panzac, and the epidemiological literature upon which this author has based his conclusions – in 1730 the commander of the janissaries noted that Istanbul was a centre of contagion. From here the plague often passed on to other provinces of the empire. In order to protect the population, immigrants were therefore to be restrained: As the commander explained, many of the new arrivals caught the illness in the khans and bachelors' quarters of Istanbul and died. Moreover, although the text does not tell us so, presumably the janissary commander knew very well that quite a few migrants came to the capital on a short-term basis, and when they returned home they were liable to carry the plague wherever they went. However, since the chief of the janissaries was setting out policy for the here and now, he did not tell us how the government would act once the immediate danger had passed.[5]

Yet we know that immigrants received no encouragement, even during years without plague. Beginning with the later 1600s, and certainly throughout the 1700s, officialdom feared that immigrants might overload the fragile system that supplied the city with basic necessities. Moreover, if they were left hungry, these crowds of mostly unattached men might join rebellions against the government. In a different vein, administrators must have known that even though market gardeners were numerous in and around Istanbul, the urban population did not produce any grain, and the surrounding area was – and is – relatively infertile. Thus the inhabitants were dependent on outside sources for their food needs, and *a fortiori* did not contribute any wheat and barley to the storehouses of the army or navy.[6]

At least on paper the obstacles confronting would-be migrants to the

capital were formidable. Road blocks were set up on the principal routes, where travellers had to state their business and might well be turned back. Limitations were placed on the number of villagers who might come to Istanbul with petitions or in order to pursue other official business; in a sense this was an infringement of the traditional right of the subjects to bring their grievances directly to the attention of the Sultan.[7] The ubiquitous bureaucracy of the 1700s has even left records of bona fide inhabitants of the Ottoman capital who had been absent for a few months, and now needed testimonies from their neighbours before they were permitted to return. The net of surveillance certainly was very dense, yet there must have been gaps, legal and illegal, through which immigrants might slip. If no such loopholes had existed we would have soon heard complaints from the elite to the effect that the everyday needs of its members were not being met. The qadi registers of the time do in fact show that people continued to arrive, perhaps principally from the Balkans but also from Anatolia.[8]

Little work has been done on immigrants to Istanbul from the Arab provinces, with the exception of religious cum legal scholars (*ulema*), rather limited in number, who came to Istanbul in order to further their careers.[9] Yet just as Turks formed an appreciable share of the commercial population of eighteenth-century Cairo, it is reasonable to assume that non-*ulema* speakers of Arabic, most them traders, also made their way to the Ottoman capital.[10] An example of this type will be analyzed in the present chapter, concerning inhabitants of western North Africa, Mağribîs in Ottoman parlance, who for the most part came from Tunis.

A reason for migration to Istanbul: selling fezzes of good quality

These men traded in sashes, cottons suitable for the wear of Mecca pilgrims (*ihrâm*) and above all in fezzes. While the latter headgear is more particularly associated with the last century of Ottoman rule, because Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) made it obligatory for all non-*ulema* state employees, it was widely used in previous periods as well. In the eighteenth century fezzes served as the central supports of the different varieties of turban to be seen on the streets of Istanbul. Such turbans came in many varieties, from the modest band of cotton that a workman hastily tied around a support of low-quality felt, to the elaborate headgear worn by court dignitaries or provincial magnates at official occasions, to say nothing of the ruler himself. Demand was thus considerable, even though traders knew well that poor people were capable of making a fez last for many years.

The manufacture of fezzes, or *chéchias* in French, apparently was

developed by the expellees and refugees from Spain who settled in Tunis between 1492 and the early seventeenth century.[11] There seems to be no evidence concerning the specific circumstances under which the industry established itself, so that the craft may well have been known in earlier years as well. Apparently scholars have simply inferred the Spanish origin of Tunis fez manufacture from the fact that certain technical terms were Spanish, even in the early 1900s.[12] The production process was complicated and involved a strict division of labour, controlled by a number of artisan-entrepreneurs: poor women spun the wool and knitted the caps which were then washed and finally taken over by male fullers and dyers. All these operations required considerable expertise if a high-quality product was to result. Finishing sometimes involved the attachment of silk cords and tassels, and always the placement of the manufacturer's mark. Elaborate packaging was needed to protect the finished product, as the better-off buyers would immediately spot all damage, due to faults in the production process but also to rough treatment in transport.

While from the eighteenth century onwards fezzes produced in France were imported into Tunis and competed with the local product, these imports were inferior in quality, and the quantities in question not yet large enough to endanger the position of local producers. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Tuscan fezzes also appeared on the Ottoman market; these were of poor quality and bought mainly by the poorest customers. The market dominance of fezzes 'made in Tunis' only changed in the nineteenth century, when all Ottoman artisans had to cope with competition from products from an increasingly industrialized Europe, and the provincial authority – in our case the *bey*s of Tunis – were no longer in a position to resist French diplomatic and military pressures.[13]

Among the large variety of different fezzes produced by Tunisian artisans – in contradistinction to their French competitors, who concentrated on a very few types – there were many styles that bore Ottoman names. This may be due to the fact that Ottoman Turkish, and not Arabic, was the language that the *bey*s used on highly official occasions; goods meant for the Tunisian ruling elite may thus have been designated largely by Turkish terms. Another reason for adopting Turkish terminology must have been the frequency of customers who spoke that language, many of them living in the central provinces of the Ottoman Empire. One of the sources used by Lucette Valensi differentiates between *haremî* fezzes for children and others intended for women (*zenne*); in addition there was a quality known as *orta* (medium), to say nothing of inferior types known as *battal* and *battal-battal* (here: useless, worthless). Another variety was known as *sarık*, which must have been designed specifically to hold a turban in

place.[14]

Conveying fezzes to Istanbul and fixing prices

At present we do not know at what time the inhabitants of the capital began to import fezzes from Tunis: a *terminus post quem* is surely the Ottoman conquest of 1574. Even in the mid-seventeenth century fezzes were probably not yet in wide use, or at least this was true of the relevant term. A very detailed register of goods sold in Istanbul in 1640 does not mention either this headgear or Tunis as a place of manufacture; instead people normally wore *börk, takye* and *arakiyye* on their heads.[15] The arrival of the Tunis fez, some time in the later seventeenth or even early eighteenth century, may thus serve as evidence for the fact that in spite of the conservatism of Ottoman consumers, often noted by merchants and other foreigners, fashion changes were by no means unknown. By the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) the North Africans were evidently well established in Galata, on the northern shore of the Golden Horn, for in Cemâzîül-āhir 1141/January 1729 they received a brevet of appointment, presumably for a headman, although the point is not clearly made in the later confirmation document, which today is the only surviving record of this grant. But we know that Sultans Mahmud I (r. 1730–54) and Mustafa III (r. 1757–74) duly confirmed the original document.[16]

How did these fezzes, high quality, *orta* or *battal-battal*, reach the Istanbul customer? On this issue, the French and Arabic sources on which Valensi has based her account have little to say, except for two brief remarks to the effect that the Tunisian bonnet-makers had a *compagnie* in Istanbul with correspondents in Tunis who controlled the distribution of fezzes throughout the Ottoman lands. However, given the research on Ottoman craftsmen – and in a secondary manner, of immigration into eighteenth-century Istanbul – that some of my colleagues and I have been undertaking during the past few years, it is possible to be good deal more specific.[17] While hunting for evidence on the craft guilds of Bursa and Istanbul, three official documents have turned up which throw light on the activities of the traders who brought fezzes and other textiles into the Ottoman capital, and which permit some rather interesting conclusions about the link between guild membership and immigration into Istanbul.[18]

Apparently the fezzes that reached the Ottoman capital were *prêt à porter*; as yet we have not seen any evidence on headgear manufactured in Istanbul *façon de Tunis*, although it is quite possible that such a trade existed, at least on a small scale. This means that the people linked to the fez trade and active in Istanbul must have been wholesalers and retailers rather than producing artisans, and until

quite recently, economic historians of the Ottoman world used to assume that this was indeed a fundamental difference.[19]

For scholars adhering to this particular view, within the 'classical' Ottoman polity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, long-distance merchants were permitted to charge what the market would bear, but artisans were subject to the close supervision of their fellow guildsmen and also of the market inspector (*muhtesib*). Theoretically the producers were allowed profit margins of only ten per cent, or twenty in exceptional cases. To this limitation of their economic life-chances, artisans supposedly reacted by adopting values typical of the dervish milieu: egalitarianism within the group, modesty, and an emphasis on other-worldly affairs formed part of this ethos. Merchants' concern with gain was frowned upon, and a guildsman who became too rich might even be expelled.[20] While Inalcik ascribed these views to artisans even in times of relative economic buoyancy, this ethos earlier on had been postulated by Sabri Ülgener, largely, though not exclusively, with reference to the conditions prevailing in the later Ottoman Empire, when producers were supposedly isolated from the world market and thereby from all potential for economic expansion.[21]

Of all this, we are today rather less certain. In two recent communications, Eunjeong Yi has questioned both the inherent egalitarianism of guildsmen and the hard and fast distinction between artisans and long-distance merchants, at least where Istanbul and the seventeenth century are concerned.[22] Valensi also has shown that even though the *chéchia* manufacturers of Tunis could undertake certain productive activities only in predetermined spaces shared by all members of the trade, and that each manufacturer received a pre-arranged quota of wool, this situation did not result in even a rough equality among producers.[23] Yi's argument is thus valid outside of Istanbul and outside the seventeenth-century context as well. It is unfortunate that Valensi's article, where this point was clearly spelled out over forty years ago, has not more often been used by Ottomanists: one example, among many, of the limited communication between historians of the Arab and Turkish worlds.

In addition, complementary to the work of Yi, who has approached the issue on the basis of sources that at least partially reflect the craftsmen's point of view, we have at our disposal some primary sources showing that imported fabrics were by no means exempt from administratively decreed prices (*narh*).[24] Thus, in Istanbul during the 1640s the qadi of Istanbul determined the prices of imported English woollen fabrics such as *londrina*, at least on the surface, in just the same manner as the prices of chickpeas or iron nails. This regulation must have affected all importers, and especially the Venetian traders,

who at this time were trying to retail their own cloth, much to the disgust of their local competitors.[25]

However, complaints about the low level of prices paid in Istanbul were of relatively limited significance in the rather voluminous correspondence of European importers during this period. Thus we must assume that Istanbul qadis and their aides, though officially using their power simply to issue orders to merchants, normally calculated prices with market conditions in mind. Or else these administered prices may well have been applied only when the palace and high officials made their purchases, while often enough, ordinary customers had to do their own bargaining.[26] Be that as it may, these different observations all indicate that in the seventeenth century at least, the privileges of long-distance merchants counted for less than had been assumed to date, while at least some artisans were more commercially minded than we have become accustomed to think.

Distributing fezzes to the customers

It is against this background that we must view the activities of the Mağribîs or merchants from Tunis established in mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul. These people formed a guild and behaved just like guildsmen of the time used to behave: among other things, they agreed on one of their fellows to become their headman, *kethüda* in Ottoman parlance, who in this instance had to be a Mağhribî. This was common practice with a special twist to it, for in Istanbul, most other guilds, even if immigrants did play a significant role in them, did not require that their headmen must be from a certain town or region. On the other hand, it was very much in line with what we know from the Bursa and Istanbul scene in general, that the Mağribî guildsmen so often quarrelled with their headmen and applied to the qadis to have them deposed. Typically they would then request that a person of their trust be appointed to the vacant position. In the guilds of Istanbul and Bursa, if the headman was no longer active in his craft, his fellows sometimes had him removed, and the fez traders probably applied a similar rule; but to date documentation is lacking.[27]

Moreover, the reasons for which the Mağribîs of Istanbul complained against their *kethüda*s also show quite clearly that this group, presumably the *compagnie* referred to in the French sources used by Valensi, functioned as a guild – or at times, as two guilds, as we will see. Thus the *kethüda* Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman,'out of raw greed', as his opponents claimed, had subverted the distribution of the fezzes, *ihrâm* cloth and sashes that formed the complainants' stock-in-trade.[28] Normally, after payment of customs duties, the *kethüda* and guild elders should have supervised the distribution of these goods,

either right in the customs-house itself, or else from a storeroom that the group probably rented for this particular purpose. There the price was determined within view of everybody.

Thus the Mağribîs were treated differently from the importers of English woollens, for although the latter, being foreigners, may not themselves have been required to sell at the prevailing *narh*, if their customers, the local cloth merchants, were bound by such administratively determined prices, the importers could not have charged sums of money so close to the prevailing *narh* as to leave the retailers no margin for profit.[29] However, there seems to have been no administratively predetermined price for the goods imported by the Mağribîs. Once sellers and buyers had agreed on prices, the sellers received their money; presumably the latter were merchants trading with North Africa about whom unfortunately we know no particulars. As for the newly purchased goods, they were distributed among the 'shareholders' (*hissedar*). By this term, the complainants probably meant the established guild masters, who by virtue of their membership had a right to a share in the trade goods that the group had acquired as a collective; this was a common enough practice among other guilds of Istanbul and Bursa as well.[30] One of the ground rules, probably quite often honoured in the breach, said that no master must interfere with the shares of his colleagues.[31]

Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman's manipulations, which the guildsmen described as motivated by 'raw greed', apparently began right after his taking office: the *kethüda* took the initiative to have his position redefined as a tax farm worth 15 purses of *akçe*.[32] This move occasioned additional expense, which the headman had used as a pretext to increase the guildsmen's payments. If the complaint of the latter was at all trustworthy, the *kethüda* passed on to his fellows goods that had been priced at the amount of 'seven or eight', presumably a reference to silver *guruş* being intended, but demanded payment of nine such coins. Moreover, neither artisans (*esnaf*) nor merchants (*bazargân*) received what was due to them, and the *kethüda* himself appropriated more than his allotted share of the merchandise. Apart from unspecified corrupt practices, he was also accused of having brought outsiders into the guild, presumably because they would support him when the established artisans complained. This in turn must have aroused a great deal of opposition, as both guildsmen and bureaucrats believed that crafts and trades must always remain free of such strangers. To top it all off, Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman supposedly had defrauded the customs administration, although this may have been an exaggeration on the complainants' part in order to persuade the Ottoman administration to move more rapidly against the unpopular headman.

All these complaints come as no surprise to the guild historian: we have seen that the fez manufacturers back in Tunis also received their wool according to pre-established quotas. That this arrangement allowed the headman opportunities for fraud also is part of a well-known pattern. However, contrary to what we might have expected, the importers of North African goods saw themselves as craftsmen (*esnaf*) and not as merchants (*bazargân*), even though apparently they did not produce fezzes in Istanbul, and their goods upon import were not subject to administrative pricing by the capital's authorities; normally locally made goods would have had just such prices imposed. Maybe it was the resident Mağribîs'z position as shopkeepers that did not permit them to acquire the doubtless more prestigious status of merchants, but it is hard to be sure. In fact these retailers of North African goods were officially admonished that they could only make a profit of ten per cent, as was typical of artisans subject to market controls.[33]

However, there were also some details in which this guild of immigrants from a remote province differed from the 'run-of-the-mill' Istanbul craft associations. First of all, when these guildsmen from Tunis behaved in a manner contrary to religious law and sultanic command, their punishment was not mere exclusion from the guild, as in extreme cases was customary elsewhere as well, but rather expulsion to their home provinces.[34] The Mağribîs' presence in the capital thus was tolerated on condition that they belonged to a guild, whose members would normally have stood surety for each other, although our text does not mention this latter aspect.

Secondly, when the masters demanded an investigation into the doings of their errant headman, they wanted this to take place under the auspices of the customs official (*gümrük emini*). At one point a crowd of guildsmen even showed up in the office of this personage to state that they wanted their present headman deposed and a certain Hacı Şa'ban b İdrīs to take his place.[35] There must have been many other guilds that received goods from outside the city and accordingly paid customs duties, yet to my knowledge the mediation of customs officials/customs farmers was not normally invoked in intra-guild disputes. A judge would have been much more likely to oversee such an inquiry into the headman's behaviour. Moreover, taking down the name of the new candidate and thus beginning the appointment procedure certainly would have formed part of the qadi's duties. By 1766–7, when a sultanic command officially reiterated the rules that the North African guildsmen were to follow, the latter received an order to take their disputes to an Istanbul court for a hearing in the presence of the relevant headmen, and there was no reference at all to the customs office.[36] Perhaps when they proposed Hacı Şa'ban, the

guildsmen had established a friendly relationship with the particular customs official on duty, and 'going through channels' was not their main concern at all.

Even more importantly, the complainants said that when they wanted to discuss their grievances with Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman, the latter refused to 'come to the *lonca*'. This statement implied that already, by the mid-1700s, the Mağribîs possessed a proper building in which to meet and discuss grievances, a feature that otherwise did not often occur in eighteenth-century documents.[37] Here the headmen and their underlings might decide on their own authority to punish recalcitrant artisans by beatings (*falaka*), although the Ottoman administration had decreed that this was not acceptable, and judgments involving physical punishment should be the prerogative of the qadis. We may thus assume that the guild of the Mağribîs contained some fairly substantial members, for building or renting a *lonca* must have cost money; poorer guildsmen could easily have met in somebody's workshop or even in a coffee-house.

That selling fezzes was not a bad way of making a living is apparent also from the size of the guild. Numbers vary, especially since there were two kinds of members, namely the shopkeepers and the so-called *torbacıs* or 'sack-men'. While I have not found any explanation of this term in current dictionaries, it is likely that the 'sack-men' sold their probably less valuable goods on markets or even street corners; this would explain why the sack-men were described as being dependent on, or of lower rank than the shop owners (*anlara tabi*'). Perhaps the former even received goods on commission from the latter. At the time it was common practice to assign salesmen who did business in the open air to a shop owner, who was then, to a degree, answerable for the behaviour of these lowly peddlers. In the khan of the Istanbul slave traders there was a clear difference between shop owners and those who received their customers in the gallery surrounding the courtyard, while many bakers in the Ottoman capital had subordinate salesmen who hawked their masters' products in the streets.[38]

In 1766–7 there were 34 shopkeepers and 39 sack-men among the fez-dealers in Galata, that is, 73 sellers all told; in Istanbul proper, there were 51 guild members, but the text does not record the number of modest sack-men. This brings the total to 124 Mağribîs, who mostly worked in Galata; perhaps the fashion for fezzes had begun in this port district, which should have been especially open to novelties arriving by sea.[39] That we do not hear of fez-sellers in the Anatolian section of the city may be due to the limited information currently available; but perhaps wearing fezzes really was not yet widespread in this more provincial environment. In one of our documents, dated to 1757–8, we hear of 120 artisans dealing with fezzes and originating

from the Mağrib, who under their auxiliary headman (*yiğitbaşı*) complained about the misdeeds of Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman. Moreover, later on in the same document, the scribes mentioned that 101 men had had their names recorded as complainants in the chambers of the customs official.[40] According to guild custom the apprentices and day labourers should not have been included in this total.

Galata being adjacent to the port, it would seem that even though many fez-sellers must have lived in the Ottoman capital for quite some time, their 'foreign' origins were still clearly in evidence. Perhaps the authorities had even encouraged the Mağribîs to settle in that part of the city, where the 'Arab Cāmi'i, by local tradition an early Islamic foundation, had been converted from a thirteenth-century Catholic church around 1475 and then appropriated by Muslim refugees from Spain who had settled in the Ottoman capital.[41]

Fissiparous tendencies and financial manipulations

Maybe a membership of a hundred to a hundred twenty-five persons, spread out over Istanbul and its suburbs on the European coast, was difficult to administer, given the slowness of intra-city communications. Personal ambitions also must have played a part. Two of our three documents on the Mağribîs of Istanbul refer to splits within the guild, with separate organizations either existing or else in the process of being set up in both Galata and Istanbul. Not that this latter move was unopposed, far from it. For we are told by the opponents of Hacı Kasım of Galata, at one point the Mağribî headman, that he had split the organization for his own selfish ends.[42] However, the *kethüda* had managed to obtain official sanction for his move, and the complainants were accordingly told that there was no encompassing organization on record, only a guild of Galata with Hacı Kasım as headman.[43]

However, in the following years, a unified guild did come into existence. Why and how remains unknown, but clearly it did not survive for long, because in 1766–7 it once again split apart. This time the *kethüda* of the fez-makers/dealers from the Mağrib, who in our text appear once as being from Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, and another time merely as people who had come from Tunis, was deposed for misconduct.[44] But this man, a certain Hacı Süleyman, retained a following, and in consequence it proved impossible for the guildsmen to agree on a successor with authority over the entire association. In the end Hacı 'Ömer b Mehmed became headman of the Galata organization and the guildsmen of Istanbul chose Hacı Yahya b Mehmed as their *kethüda*, a choice that was approved by the central

authority. Once again there were now two guilds of North African fez-sellers.

Such official endorsement cost money. In the eighteenth century the central administration was constantly strapped for cash, and as a result it was common to grant *kethüda* positions to people who were willing to give up to the treasury any pay tickets for soldiers' pay that they might have in their possession.[45] As by this time such tickets circulated very much like bills of exchange, it was possible for ordinary artisans without military connections to acquire them. Typically, a candidate for a position as headman, after securing the consent of the guildsmen – without whose acquiescence he could not expect to officiate for long – collected a number of pay tickets that he then offered to the financial administration. If he desired a position that was already occupied, he would have to reimburse the previous holder for his expenses, and provide supplementary tickets in order to make the change attractive to the officials in charge of finance.[46] However, the practice of the North Africans differed in one respect, namely that at least in the case documented in 1757–8, it was the guild members themselves who acquired the pay tickets the headman would have to hand over to the treasury. Supposedly these added up to 60 *akçe*.[47] Presumably social cohesion in this group of North African immigrants was stronger than among local craftsmen, so that members were willing to make financial sacrifices in order to make sure of getting the headman of their choice.

Conclusion: immigrant Tunisians established in Istanbul

What has emerged about the distribution of fezzes and other North African wares in mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul? Evidently there were long-distance merchants who carried these goods from Tunis and other places to the capital. After going through the Istanbul customs, these traders sold their wares to distributors who were also from North Africa. There may have been partnership ties between the two groups, which would account for French sources mentioning a *compagnie*. But as retailers, the local distributors were bound by the Ottoman market rules that limited profits to ten per cent. Perhaps these Tunisians, who settled in Istanbul, saw themselves and were regarded by the authorities as artisans/*esnaf*, also engaged in manufacture, at least in a minor way.

To be a member of his guild in good standing was evidently the precondition for a Mağribî's legal residence in Istanbul; due to the constant concern of the authorities with illegal immigration, people who had been expelled from their organization also might expect to be sent back to their provinces of origin. However, unlike certain

guilds consisting of Christians that apparently needed a Muslim headman in order to function effectively, the North Africans enjoyed the privilege of being administered by a man from their own community.[48] This right seems to have been so important to the guildsmen that they were willing to contribute financially to the expenses involved in the appointment of new headmen: thus they could exclude the numerous soldiers stationed in the capital and always on the lookout for new sources of revenue. By the same token, only immigrants from North Africa, and perhaps their descendants, could expect to become members of the fez-sellers' guild.

In addition, the Mağribî fez-dealers are of interest because they were mainly traders, and yet were firmly integrated into one or two guilds according to circumstances. The fez-dealers form a prime example of an – at least for us – unusual guild, namely an organization consisting largely of traders; we do not yet have studies of Istanbul's general store-keepers or greengrocers, who were a similar case. Maybe those who succeeded in the distribution sector could enter the import business and thus advance from shopkeepers to merchants. Even though our information is as yet so sparse, this merchant–artisan relationship among the Tunisians is an important issue in view of recent interest in the connections between long-distance traders and retail distributors.

Apart from such issues of concern, mainly to the historians of guild, mobility and travel also enter the picture. For when analysing the stories told by the North Africans in Istanbul, we can come up with information on the manner in which immigration and the insertion of newcomers into the urban fabric might take place, in a manner acceptable to the Ottoman authorities. In the case of the Mağribîs, the Ottoman establishment managed to have its cake and eat it too, for immigration, which as we well know was indispensable for the survival of the city, yet was selective, conditional and controlled. Here we do not find single villagers or even peasant families who had perhaps left fields uncultivated in their regions of origin, but rather members of one or two urban guilds that perhaps encompassed artisans and retailers, who for the most part had probably been townsmen even in their places of origin. These guilds were given control over who got to stay in Istanbul, in addition to a degree of autonomy, even though the central administration was probably on the alert for opportunities to limit the special privileges of the North Africans, minor though they may appear to us. In a sense the Ottoman authorities did what the Venetians had done long before them: by allowing southern Slav and Albanian immigrants to set up separate charitable organizations (*scuole*), the integration of the newcomers into Venice was facilitated. However, while the stone-built Venetian

scuole of the Slavs and Albanians, with their frescoes by Vettore Carpaccio, survive to the present day, the *lonca* of the North Africans, probably housed in a wooden structure, has long since disappeared.

CHAPTER 11

Controlling borders and workmen, all in one fell swoop: from Istanbul to Hotin in 1716

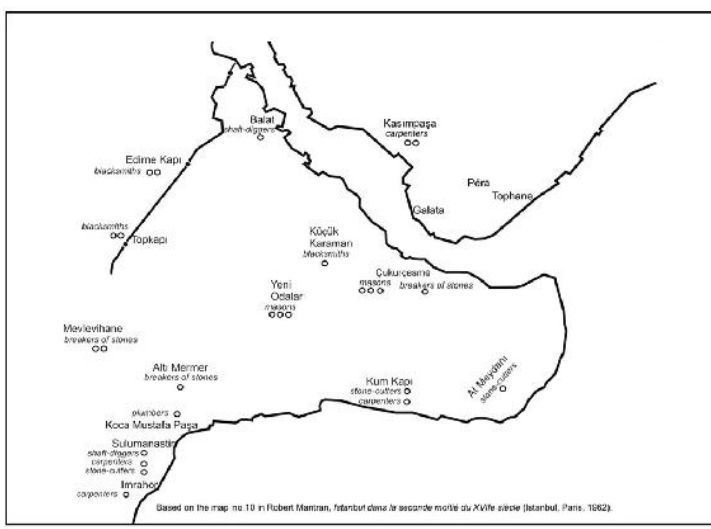
Dealing with Ottoman migrations, today's historian will soon find that this phenomenon looks vastly different when regarded from differing viewpoints: in the government's perspective the sultans' subjects were to stay put in their farms and villages and pay their taxes. By contrast, 'on the ground' there were people who made their livelihoods through migration, such as nomads and the much smaller numbers of wandering Sinti and Roma. Such people were continuously on the move, but always subject to a degree of official suspicion.

Ottoman administrators of the eighteenth century encouraged nomads to change over to farming, although the more systematic settlement projects of the late 1600s had on the whole been failures.[1] But in the 1700s the most obvious worry of the central government, connected to migration, was not the movement of Anatolian nomads but rather the tendency of its Balkan and Anatolian subjects, usually peasants or townsmen, to migrate to Istanbul. After all, ordinary people might benefit from the strict control the administration exercised over the prices of everyday goods, and the inhabitants did not need to worry about the supply of grain, at least as long as the Black Sea remained an Ottoman lake, in other words until the Russo–Ottoman war of 1768–74.

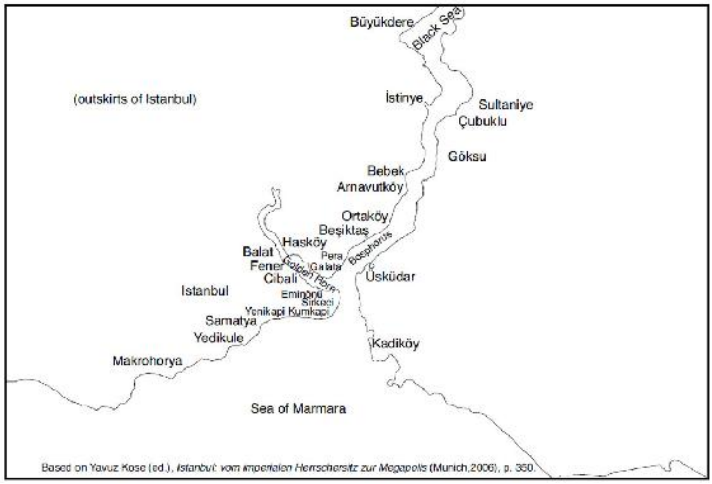
In the eighteenth century, migration to Istanbul and the government's policies designed to counteract these movements, form a major topic of what we might call 'Ottoman domestic politics'. However, it is difficult to discern the motivations and initiatives of ordinary subjects, given a military and bureaucratic system whose documentation all but exclusively focused on the concerns of the administration. Often we know more about the government's attempt to foil migration than about the moves and motivations of the

migrants; to deal with the latter we have to resort to indirect evidence, which satisfies our curiosity only within certain limits.

In the present case we will focus on a project that involved the removal of young single men from the city, in many cases for good. As we will see, Ottoman officials identified many of these men as Arnavud, a term that seems to have characterized them as recent migrants; however, since we know very little about social cohesion and identity within Istanbul's 'Arnavud' community, we do not know when a man ceased to be regarded as a migrant and became a bona fide resident of Istanbul. Sultanic law prescribed – depending on circumstances – a period of ten to twenty years, after which migrants could no longer be returned to their home communities. But given the almost obsessive concern with reducing the 'surplus' population of Istanbul, we cannot be sure that these limits were always respected. Especially when it came to sending young men to a construction project far away from the capital, such enterprises in the minds of officialdom doubtless could function as a means of emptying the city of young, usually single men of migrant background. Put differently, the 'independent' migration, especially of Albanians to Istanbul, appears *en filigrane* behind the action that we will analyze here.[2]



Living spaces of artisans, drafted for Hotin, 1716.



Map 1 Living spaces of artisans, drafted for Hotin, 1716. (Inhabitants of khans have been excluded apart from those in the Yeni odalar)

1–10
11–20
21 and over

The building project

Our concern will be with an important northern fortification, namely Hotin, today located in Ukraine. From the Ottoman point of view, the place had a chequered history: in the early 1620s, Osman II (r. 1618–22) had campaigned but failed to take the fortress; this negative experience may have caused him to attempt setting up an army corps to rival the janissaries, an undertaking that ended with his deposal and murder.[3] But in 1673, Hotin did fall into the hands first of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–87) and then of the king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Ottomans returned in force in 1676, when the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha had the place fortified; but during the following years Hotin came to form part of the territory of the princes of Moldavia. In 1711, the Ottomans once again took direct control, but there was another interruption in 1713 when the armies of Tsar Peter I of Russia briefly occupied the castle. After this last interlude, in 1716 the Ottoman government once again revamped the fortifications, perhaps with the involvement of French engineers: probably this enterprise resulted in the outer wall, four gates, two public baths, two large mosques and a covered market whose remains are still visible today.[4] Before the reconstruction Hotin was probably a run-down place, as was true of many other military and civilian structures after decades of Balkan warfare.

We do not know exactly what work on which buildings the authorities had scheduled for Hotin in 1716, for the *keşif defteri* that

must have described the project in detail, and also contained an estimate of costs, has not yet emerged in the Ottoman archives. However, since 399 artisans involved in the building trades apparently were drafted in Istanbul alone, the project was probably of some importance: it certainly included the construction/reconstruction of the fortress bath along with its water conduits, and the paving of certain surfaces either within or outside the fortress walls. In addition, this project may have involved the construction of the outer walls that archaeologists have labelled as 'Turkish'. Certain rooms used by the officers, or perhaps the local mosque even, were to receive a painted decoration, for there were two painters/designers (*nakkaş*) among the draftees that the sultan's officials decided to send to Hotin. In addition, the architects in charge may well have recruited a large contingent of less qualified workmen on site, but on these people we do not possess any information.

A small register recording this enterprise is dated to Cemazi I 1128/ April– May 1716; it covers an early stage in the construction process, namely the recruitment of building artisans in Istanbul.[5] Our text concerns a session in the presence of the qadi of Galata, who had moved his court to Arnavutköy on the Bosporus; in this record the scribes of the judge document the official handing over of the artisans' travel expenses (*harcırah*) and the three-months advance pay that the authorities previously had promised to these men. However, the relevant sums of money seem to have passed through the hands of a few foremen organizing this case of official enforced labour migration; moreover, the wages paid to different categories of builders may have been quite different, so that we do not know how much hard cash each working man received at the end of the day. But on an average the official wage amounted to 1,215 *akçe* a month, equivalent to slightly more than 10 *guruş*, the standard coin in use at that time. Compared to the wages paid to builders in Istanbul, this payment was fairly generous, as in 1716 unskilled construction labourers in this city received 711 *akçe* per month and skilled masters 1,032 *akçe*, assuming that they worked for 30 days a month, which presumably was not the case. Unfortunately we do not know what prices were like in Hotin and what extras the workmen might have needed given the colder climate.[6] As for the standard travel expenses, they amounted to 1,227 *akçe* per person, which roughly corresponded to one month's pay.

In order to ensure that the money actually reached the draftees and did not end up in the money-belts of the foremen, under the heading of some 'administrative overhead' or other, the court session took place in Arnavutköy, where some of the artisans probably lived. Admittedly we cannot prove this assumption, as the name 'Arnavudköy' does not occur among the different places of artisan

residence mentioned in our lists.[7] It is likely that some of the people recorded as 'Arnavud', without further precision, did in fact live in this place, for otherwise it would not have made any sense for the qadi of Galata to make a lengthy trip up the Bosporus. Be that as it may, after an official verification, at least some of the workers soon to depart for Hotin testified in front of the judge that everything was in good order.

In the proceedings documented, the current Chief Architect (*sermimaran-ı hassa*) Mehmed Ağa b Abdürrahman confronted Hasan Ağa, a servitor of the current commander of Hotin, Damad Mehmed Paşa, and requested that he confirm the receipt of 16,177.5 *guruş* of travel money and advance pay. At the end of the register there was a document issued by this same Chief Architect Mehmed testifying that the 16,177.5 *guruş* in question corresponded to the total of the sums, previously calculated in *akçe*, which the draftees had received. Nine ships were ready to depart for Hotin, but our text does not tell us when and where exactly the men were to embark. Unfortunately the register has suffered quite severe damage to the top and bottom sections of every single page, which at times makes interpretation rather difficult.

Identifying persons: from slaves to labourers

Perhaps the full extent of the Hotin restoration project will emerge through archaeological research.[8] However, our document is of interest not so much because of the information it provides about the building, but rather due to the light that it sheds on the manner in which the Ottoman administration of the 1700s recruited artisans to serve on official projects in fairly remote provinces. This issue has been extensively studied where the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are concerned, but we know rather little about recruitment procedures during later periods.[9]

There is another side to the recruitment issue, which to date has not much concerned Ottomanist historians of the pre-Tanzimat period, namely the manner in which the authorities tried to keep track of the people they had drafted. On the other hand, this issue is currently a serious concern for historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both Ottomanist and Europeanist. Recent studies of the modernization of the Ottoman administration during the Tanzimat period (beginning in 1839) and afterwards have shown that similarly to their French, Russian, Habsburg, Prussian and, later, German counterparts, the sultans' bureaucrats were also in the business of keeping track of at least those Istanbul residents happening to live in the reigns of Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and Mahmud II (r. 1808–39).[10]

This undertaking certainly was not confined to the gathering of statistics: officialdom aimed at limiting the movements of the empire's inhabitants to the purposes that their 'rulers and betters' considered necessary.

Nor were all measures of control recent inventions: Western and Central European officialdom had in the later Middle Ages already developed techniques for identifying at least those people who were 'wanted' for one reason or another; for this purpose the scribes included rudimentary descriptions of physical appearance in the paperwork they produced.[11] In the same vein, Ottoman officials did not await the mid-nineteenth century before they started to identify people 'by their names and appearances' (*isim ve resimleriyle*), as the authors of many documents in the sixteenth-century chancery registers (*Mühimme*) liked to put it. Quite often local officials received orders to report various refractory characters in this manner. But so far we have not located any actual documents from this period containing detailed descriptions of individuals who had incurred the wrath of the Sultan or his servitors; thus, in all likelihood the practice existed but was not very widespread.

Certainly the sets of documents issued in the 1500s, 1600s or 1700s did not contain any sketches, although at first glance, the term *resim* might give us such an impression. Presumably in most cases, when the administration wanted specific people to work on a sultanic building project or provide luxury goods to the palace, the local qadi received a list of the relevant names.[12] As only the members of some prominent households used family names in the 1600s or 1700s, the judges in charge of the recruitment process sometimes must have had a hard time telling apart the various Mehmed son of Ahmed and Kosta son of Nikola. After all, it was the responsibility of these officials to ensure that the right persons arrived in Istanbul. Probably the qadis relied on the testimony of witnesses as to the identities of the people involved, as was common practice in ordinary court cases. However, we cannot exclude that a judge newly appointed to his position, and/or unpopular in the place where he officiated, was sometimes deceived and sent the wrong persons. In such cases his superiors in the capital were usually more than ready to assume that the unfortunate qadi had accepted a bribe. Sometimes this accusation may have well been true, but possibilities for genuine error were numerous as well.

Furthermore, how was the qadi to ensure that the people he had selected really made it to their destinations? In some cases the central administration had the men whom it had requested conveyed to their new work places under guard; in other instances the craftsmen apparently made their own way to the sites where the Sultan's bureaucrats had seen fit to send them.[13] When the Süleymaniye

complex was under construction, artisans ordered to relocate to the Ottoman capital sometimes appeared in the relevant documents with their personal names; in other cases officials only wrote down the number of masons or carpenters, as well as the names of the people in charge of bringing the artisans to the construction site. In such a case it was obviously the job of the latter, sometimes known as *mutemed*, to identify the men in question. When non-Muslims were at issue, the officials in charge sometimes took away the receipts proving that the men recruited had paid their head-tax (*cizye*) for the current year: presumably the draftees would not risk having to pay twice over. Once arrived at their destinations, some scribe presumably checked the men against whatever list was in his hands, and in some cases at least, he must have arranged for replacements when people had died or become incapacitated en route.[14] To make his task easier, it surely helped if the office-holder in charge had even a rudimentary idea of the physical characteristics of the men arriving at the work-place.

Therefore by the 1700s at least some registers of draftees contained simple 'verbal portraits' of the artisans whom the authorities had seen fit to send off. As models for their descriptions, officials could use the relatively numerous 'wanted' notifications concerning escaped slaves, which we can find in certain qadi registers of the early and mid-sixteenth century, now conveniently available in the partially published registers of Üsküdar.[15] In these texts we do not normally find the names of the slaves at issue; if names do occur, they refer to people who already had accepted Islam. By contrast, the qadis' scribes always tried to indicate the ethnicity of the fugitive. Yet we do not really know how officials found out whether a given man was a Rus (Ukrainian/Russian) or a Macar (Hungarian). The latter question must have been difficult to answer, especially if the slave delivered to the court spoke no Turkish or Arabic.[16] It is therefore prudent to allow for a margin of error; but still we can say with some confidence that when it came to escaped slaves, ethnicity as perceived by the scribes was a more important marker of identity than personal names.

In addition, people show up in these records as tall, short or of medium build, the colour of the eyes appears frequently and also the configuration of the eyebrows. Physical defects such as lameness or a damaged hand also often entered the qadis' registers. However, at least the scribes of Üsküdar were mostly interested in the clothes which the escaped men were wearing; thus we may well attempt to re-construct the 'wardrobe' of lower-class males from the lists contained in these sixteenth-century registers.

A much more detailed form of personal description can be found in the registers entitled '*Evlad-ı kefere-i recâyâ-yı Rumeli*', of which only a few sample pages are currently available in print.[17] The boys and

young men appearing in one early seventeenth-century document were on their way to join the Sultan's army as candidate janissaries (*acemi oğlan/gilmân-ı acemiyân*); the records contain both their birth names and those that they adopted after Islamization, a rare example of an Ottoman bureaucrat detailing the non-Muslim antecedents of his fellow Muslims. Even more remarkably, the names of the young men's mothers also appeared, and this peculiar practice extended even to the Muslim Bosnians, who, as an exception to the rule that candidate janissaries must be rural Christians, regularly sent their sons to join the corps. Evidently many recruits only had a rough idea of their ages, and the officials who entered this important information prefaced the relevant figures by the note'approximately' (*tahminen*). More or less precise information on ages is not found in other listings of people who had to leave their homes in order to serve the Ottoman rulers on construction sites or military campaigns. But who knows, perhaps one fine day the *devşirme* record of the architect Sinan will turn up in the treasure house of the Istanbul archives!

Furthermore, the descriptions referred to the heights of these youngsters, which might be substantial or else medium; only when some *devşirme* registers have been published in full will we know whether the authorities avoided drafting young men smaller than average. In addition, the bureaucrats in charge of the recording process took down the colour of the boys' eyes and eyebrows, and also noted whether the latter were joined together or else set widely apart. However, most suitable for purposes of identification were the scars and skin impurities that, if the published pages are at all representative, most of these people seem to have possessed. After all, they must have lived rough lives as shepherds and farm hands, and already by late adolescence their bodies evidently showed traces of the hardships that most of them probably had suffered.

To sum it all up: I would suggest, as a working hypothesis, that in the 1500s systematic attempts at physical description involved mainly escaped slaves and people 'wanted' for transgressions that we would regard as political in the broader sense of the term. In addition, candidate janissaries attracted special attention, perhaps because – differently from fugitive slaves – they had families to fall back on in case they wanted to escape. By the early 1700s a larger and perhaps more self-confident bureaucracy did attempt to describe the faces of a much more extensive group of people, for the officials concerned with the workmen sent to Hotin tried to record the facial features of all the people involved, as we will see. However, the scribes showed absolutely no interest in the clothes worn by the men whose bodies they recorded with such attention to detail. Presumably the draftees normally possessed a change of clothes, while escaped slaves did not.

We may speculate that the administration regarded the status of *devşirme* recruits and drafted labourers as 'slave-like', but clear evidence for this assumption is lacking.

The social organization of draftee building workers

How did the officials compiling the register of 1716 designate the workers they had drafted? On the one hand, they used expressions denoting individual crafts, such as carpenters or stonecutters, but when referring to these men in the collective, they favoured the term *amele* (worker). We can hypothesize that apart from some men described as *usta* (master), and perhaps a few others, the people drafted for the Hotin project did not count as highly skilled specialists. Among the exceptions proving the rule, the title of *usta* distinguished certain diggers of sewers and/or mine shafts for explosives (*lağımcı*), a maker of screws and/or boring equipment (*burgucu*), a few blacksmiths, one of the *hamam*-builders and also the two glaziers.

Table 1 Istanbul artisans to be sent to Hotin

Neccar carpenter	*Hamamcı* plumber	*Küfeki madencisi* quarry worker	*Taş kırıcı* breaker of stones	*Camcı* glazier	*Su yolcu* builder of water conduits	*Nakkaş* painter, designer	*Biçkıcı* sawyer	*Lağımcı* shaft-digger
25	10	25	50	2	5	2	2	60
Kireç yakıcı lime-burner	*Testereci* artisan using a saw or handsaw	*Burgucu* maker of screws	*Taş yontucu* stonecutter	*Kaldırımcı* layer of pavements	*Demirci* blacksmith	*Duvarcı* mason	*Sıvacı* plasterer	Total
40	1	1	20	5	9	150	2	399

As the table shows, the vast majority of the workmen dealt in one way or another with the construction of walls: 38 per cent of the draftees were masons, who could count on the assistance of 135 workmen preparing the stones and lime needed for their work. Thus, the labourers, who obtained stone from the quarries, broke them up and cut them into usable pieces along with the lime-burners, made up another 34 per cent. As for the *lağımcıs*, it is hard to exactly specify their duties: quite prosaically, these 40 men could have worked on the sewers of the fortress, but they could also have served as a military reserve, to help in the construction of counter-mines if ever an enemy besieged Hotin. Be that as it may, at 13 per cent of the total, the share of the *lağımcıs* was substantial. The carpenters provided the scaffolding and perhaps also constructed the ceilings, while 15 specialist bath-builders and conduit makers were in charge of building or restoring the *hamams*[18].

Apart from documenting the payment of wages and travel grants, our text also records the people who guaranteed both the workmen – presumably their appearance on the worksite – and the appropriate use of the money paid out. Unfortunately some of the most interesting

details have disappeared because of the damage that the register has suffered. Even so, the identities of the witnesses and guarantors whose names are legible do repay analysis. We will begin with the witnesses to the proceedings in the qadi's court in Arnavutköy. As we have seen, this session concerned the payment of wages and travel money by the Chief Architect to the man in charge of conveying the workers to Hotin; at least some of the draftees were present and received their money in person. The witnesses include a certain Ahmed Çelebi, described as the assistant head of the guild of timber-sellers (*yiğitbaşı-ı taife-i keresteci*), in addition to el-hac Halil, who was a butcher by trade. In addition, there was a personage bearing the honorific *fahrülekran*, who may well have been a military man. Put differently, the guarantors were outsiders to the construction-related guilds and the heads of the latter do not seem to have appeared at all in this court session. At the very end of the register we are informed that the 150 Albanian masons drafted for the project all stood surety for one another, and that in addition, the assistant head of their guild and a number of men without titles also acted as guarantors.

We encounter a similar arrangement when examining the guarantors vouching for the appearance of other craftsmen in Hotin; once again the proper use of the funds expended on the travels of carpenters, stonecutters or glaziers was the main concern of the authorities. Certainly in this case the *kethüda*s of the relevant guilds were prominently in evidence. However, they almost never vouched for their men alone, but shared the risk with a large number of people who once again did not bear any titles and therefore should have been ordinary craftsmen. At the end of these enumerations we often find the note 'and others' (*ve sairleri*); this remark may mean that the guarantors were too numerous to mention individually. Presumably the risks involved in standing surety were too great for any one person to shoulder; even when there was no explicit statement to this effect, all members of the guilds involved may well have stood surety for one another, according to a pattern also known from other 'difficult' or 'delicate' situations.[19]

The vast majority of the men and boys drafted for Hotin were Christians of one sort or another; the register did not include any Jews at all. Muslims mostly clustered in certain crafts: thus all the blacksmiths adhered to Islam. In addition, a few Muslims appeared among the workmen extracting stone from quarries. Decorators, glaziers, as well as makers of boring equipment and water conduits, who also were all Muslims, should have counted among the more highly skilled craftsmen; but it is impossible to say whether they were also better paid. After all, the accounts lump together wages and travel expenses, and even though we possess information on average

travel grants, we do not know whether the latter were the same for everyone or else graded according to skill or seniority.

As was customary when detailing the sultans' free subjects, our register identified the draftees by their own names and the names of their fathers. Residence was also a major factor. People might live in a business structure or khan (*han*) located in Istanbul or an ordinary urban ward in the same city; if we are willing to accept a certain margin of error we may claim that the inhabitants of a khan lived apart from their families, either because they were recent immigrants or because they had for some reason left the households headed by their fathers. We need to admit a significant margin of error, because brothers or cousins might strike out together, and the same thing might apply to a man and his young son. Thus, when we find people with the same patronymic in one and the same line of our register, it makes sense to assume that they were brothers. On the other hand, we may posit that the men domiciled in an urban quarter cohabited with family members including females, either because they were married or else because they still formed part of their fathers' households.

When recruiting workmen, the officials seem to have collected information on the areas where members of the craft they were looking for were likely to reside. Apparently it was common enough for people of the same craft and/or religion to live in the same urban ward, or at least in neighbouring town quarters. Thus, a sizeable group of Armenian carpenters was on record in Kasımpaşa, near the dockyards where they may have found employment in shipbuilding. Other Armenians lived around the church of Surp Kevork/Sulu Manastır, which until 1641 had been the patriarchal church.[20] A large group of Albanian masons lived in the neighbourhood known as Çukurçeşme; presumably this locality was identical to the quarter appearing on early twentieth-century maps, not far from the Süleymaniye.[21] Three blacksmiths all claimed to live in the vicinity of the Edirne gate, while knots of Armenian stonecutters dwelled in the area around the Hippodrome and in a place described simply as 'Mevlevihane'. In all probability this latter term designated not one of the often rather elite lodges of the Mevlevi order of dervishes, but rather the Mevlevihane gate in the Istanbul land walls, which is still the centre of a very modest district. Outside of the city limits, Armenian stonecutters also inhabited the village of Makriköy, otherwise known as Makrihörye and today the rather well-to-do Istanbul district of Bakırköy. In all these cases, however, it remains unclear whether the 'addresses' given corresponded to workshops or else to people's homes.

Somewhat more information is available on the lime-burners, whose shops, due to the space required and the ever-present danger of fire,

were located at some distance from the city centre. We find some of these establishments in the vicinity of the gates in the Byzantine land walls known as Topkapı and Edirnekapı. Another batch bordered the shores of the Bosporus in the village of Çubuklu, and lime-burners also operated in the as yet unidentified settlement of Umuryeri. In this instance the sultan's officials identified the draftees by stating the name of the master operating the workshop (*karhane*) where they laboured. Unfortunately we do not know whether Kristo, Kara Miho, Yani and other owners of such workshops were active at the time of writing or whether these people were long dead and other entrepreneurs continued to use the names of their predecessors. We can only conclude that in spite of diligently searching the archival sources, many aspects of artisan life as yet remain a closed book.

Last but not least, there were the numerous men declaring that they lived and/or worked in a khan or barracks (*han, odalar*). Due to the damage the register has suffered, numbers are approximate, but quite obviously a minimum of 150 men, or 37 per cent of the total, lived in various urban khans. Most of these men resided in the Yeni odalar, one of the larger janissary barracks.[22] Most inhabitants of the khans and especially the Yeni odalar were also on record as Arnavud; apparently it was thus possible at least for Albanian Christians to find more or less temporary refuge in janissary barracks.

Table 2 Draftees residing in urban khans[23]

Kurşunlu Han	Mehmed Ağa hanı	Testereci hanı	Papas odaları	Gedikpaşa tekneci odaları
27	2	3	6	5
Hekimbaşı hanı	Yeni odalar	Zincirli han	Papas hanı	Çatal hanı
5	78	8	14	2

Physical characteristics and ethnicity

When it came to identifying individuals, evidently the scribes compiling our register considered certain physical characteristics a 'must'. Official concern focused on beards and moustaches; interestingly the eye-colour of the men and the configuration of their brows were not a major issue, even though these characteristics were more permanent than beards, which easily could be shaved off. At least among early-eighteenth-century Istanbul Christians, it was common enough to be clean shaven; by contrast, the men described here never seem to have got rid of their moustaches. However, many of the draftees were so young that they did not as yet possess fully developed facial hair; our scribes recorded these adolescents as

possessing a *taze bıyık* without specifying the colour. Occasionally these young men also appeared as *emred* or more rarely as *genç*. As for those people who did possess moustaches of a recognizable colour, they appeared as fair (*sarışın*), light brown (*kumral*), black (*kara*) and – probably – pepper-and-salt (*kırılmış*), rarely as grey (*kır*). The same colours also served to describe beards. As people normally wore some kind of head-dress, their hair remained invisible and thus did not concern the officials.

Given the many workmen sharing the same features, even within one and the same trade, these facial descriptions must have been of little help to the scribes attempting to identify individuals who had absented themselves during the long voyage to Hotin. Perhaps when holding roll-calls of smaller groups, the enumerations of facial features may have been of some limited assistance: after all, most of the craft-based groups conveyed to Hotin were small, so that the number of people with the same recorded characteristics was limited as well. It is thus noteworthy that the bureaucrats in charge attempted physical description on a large scale, even if the results obtained were less than impressive.[24]

As for ethnicity, it was of major importance whenever the men in question declared themselves as Albanians/Arnavud, or if the authorities believed that the men under consideration belonged to this particular ethnic group. In such cases Muslims did not receive the privilege of having their names precede those of the 'unbelievers', although this practice was otherwise universal in Ottoman bureaucratic records. Furthermore, the number of Muslims among the Albanians recruited for the Hotin project was quite limited, even though by this time, the Islamization process in the Albanian provinces had been going on for many years. The scribes simply recorded the Muslims they encountered, mixed in with the Christians and with no regard to ceremony.

Ridding the capital of people deemed 'undesirable'?

If in this instance Albanian ethnic identity was the dominant consideration, we need to search for the motivation for this unusual behaviour. As we have seen, Ottoman officialdom normally took matters of precedence and the public honour accorded to the Muslim religion and its adherents very seriously indeed. Perhaps Istanbul bureaucrats had a poor opinion of the often destitute immigrants who came to work in the capital, however, and even refused to take their conversions very seriously.[25] But admittedly this is no more than speculation.

When looking at the ages of the workmen about to depart from the

capital for distant Hotin, once again we get the impression that most of the men in question were not highly skilled, for in 36 cases, or 9 per cent, the workers are described as adolescents (*emred*), who on account of their ages cannot have been fully qualified masters. In addition, we have 70 cases in which the young men are on record as having possessed a *taze bıyık*, another indication of youth and a concomitant lack of experience and training. Unfortunately we cannot simply add up the two categories, as some people might possess both a *taze bıyık* and be described as *emred.*[26] Even if we make allowance for this fact, almost one quarter of the men sent to Hotin should have been too young to be fully qualified in their respective crafts.

On the other hand, we know that in certain cases the authorities hired unqualified labourers in towns and villages near the fortresses to be repaired; thus in early-eighteenth-century Nish, certain skilled artisans came from Crete, while locals did the unskilled work.[27] Thus we may ask ourselves whether there were other reasons for sending these workmen away from the Ottoman capital: during this period the administration constantly worried about the size of the Istanbul population, and perhaps officials hoped that some of the workmen would not return. Or if they did, they might not find the witnesses to prove that they were bona fide residents of Istanbul, and thus could be excluded for good.[28]

The prominent presence of Albanians among the draftees is another reason for suspecting 'ulterior motives' in the minds of the sultan's officials. In the eighteenth century Albanian gardeners, guards and mercenaries were a common sight in the capital. Our register reflects this presence: there were 54 Albanian masons recruited by a certain Yovan Arnavud, domiciled in the janissary barracks known as the Yeni odalar. In addition, the 'labour boss' Dimitri Kalfa had recruited around 60 workmen.[29] Moreover, among the lime-burners there were a further nine persons whom the text described as Arnavud, although once we take personal names into consideration, it appears likely that the real number was larger. According to the official summary, there were 150 Arnavud masons involved in the entire project, a figure that we cannot verify due to paper damage but which is equal to 38 per cent of the total of all masons recruited for the Hotin enterprise. Given the frequency of Albanians in other trades as well, it makes sense to estimate that 40–45 per cent of the workmen sent to Hotin were Albanians, for the most part Christians.

Armenians are the only other ethnic group easily apparent in our register, the Greeks being difficult to identify because so many Albanians were Orthodox and thus shared the same Christian names. However, where the non-Albanians were at issue, the authorities were not at all concerned with ethnicity, so that we have to rely on the

sometimes ambiguous evidence of given names. We can wonder whether the Sultan's bureaucrats also had special reasons for sending Armenians to Hotin, but at present I do not think that an answer to this question is possible.

Moreover, if we look at the large share of khan-dwellers among the draftees, and particularly the concentration of people in the Yeni odalar, we may surmise that the authorities combed the khans and janissary barracks for people whom they considered poor and single, and thus prime candidates for resettlement outside of the capital. However, once again it is impossible to go beyond hypotheses, as we may also imagine that some of the men at issue had originally lived somewhere else, and the officials in search of likely candidates had concentrated them in the Yeni odalar prior to the long journey to Hotin. We may never find a certain answer to this particular question, but once we know more about eighteenth-century procedures of population control, we may at least base our suppositions on better evidence than we possess at present.

In conclusion

This debate about control procedures brings us back to the problem of identifying individuals. If indeed the Ottoman administration wished to reduce the number of poor, single, Christian and particularly Albanian inhabitants of the capital, it was necessary to identify likely candidates, bring them together and prevent them from decamping once the group was about to leave for Hotin. In all probability identification procedures were still rudimentary and could not have worked without the ancient institution of mutually standing surety; and as we have seen, such officially enforced guarantees enmeshed not only the draftees, but also a sizeable number of people well ensconced in Istanbul, both Christians and Muslims. Presumably, guild *kethüda*s and other influential masters put pressure on the draftees to keep evasions – which surely could not be avoided altogether – within tolerable limits. Perhaps one day we will find records detailing the building workers who had escaped and the sums of money that their guarantors needed to pay. We also can read our document as an early example of the mass listings of the capital's inhabitants that were to reinforce official controls some eighty to a hundred years later, in the reigns of Selim III and Mahmud II.[30]

For the historian of Ottoman subjects and their concerns, however, our document admittedly poses more questions than it answers. Scholars dealing with military conscription have often considered this enterprise a tacit contract: in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries, young and not so young men obeyed – and obey – the

call to arms. However, during World War I, for instance, under certain circumstances these people might consider the contract broken and desert or even mutiny. Among other concerns, the length of the fighting, the poor quality and insufficient quantity of the food available, dissatisfaction with the way in which the war was being conducted, or perhaps, even more decisively, hopelessness concerning its outcome, all might induce soldiers to consider that the 'tacit contract' was null and void.[31] Hypothetically speaking, since the Ottoman elite did not have an overwhelming force available to escort our Albanian and other building workers to far-off Hotin, a similar'tacit contract' must have been obtained in the early 1700s. But as long as we lack evidence concerning the workmen who absconded, or perhaps even joined robber bands, or even better, some record of their motivation for doing so, we early modernists cannot duplicate the work on state–society relations that currently is leading to a thorough revision of late Ottoman historiography.

Staying Put

CHAPTER 12

Selling sweetmeats: Istanbul in the mid-eighteenth century

After discussing artisans and other non-elite people who travelled, we need to look at the large number of urbanites who were born, served apprenticeships, became masters in their trades and ultimately died within the confines of one and the same city. These people must have made up a significant share of the urban population, although at least where Istanbul with its large immigrant component is concerned, we do not know whether or not they were the actual majority. Given the relative abundance of documentation, we will focus here on the Ottoman capital.

Even in the eighteenth century Istanbul was spread out over an enormous area: several hours were necessary to travel from the eastern edge of Üsküdar in Anatolia to the Byzantine land-walls which formed the city border to the west. Moreover, suburban settlements on the Bosporus were increasing quite rapidly, ever since Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) favoured the summer palace in Beşiktaş, located on the coast opposite Üsküdar, as well as the villas of the royal princesses that bordered the water's edge in the same area. Thus, traversing the city from Beşiktaş through Galata, across the Golden Horn, not as yet spanned by any bridge, and then through the 'historical peninsula' (*tarihi yarımada*)[1] towards the Sea of Marmara was a journey that took a good deal of time, even if storms, mist or ice did not impede the progress of the traveller. After all, the seventeenth-century traveller Evliya Çelebi had devoted one large volume of his travelogue to Istanbul, thus defining it as a world in itself.[2]

In the present chapter we will focus on such journeys within Istanbul and its suburbs; our study will show that even artisans who never left the city in which they had been born, still might move around quite a bit, and in so doing develop a sense of the city beyond the small urban wards in which they lived and worked. To do so, we will use a somewhat unusual source, namely a record of the probable

peregrinations of Istanbul halva manufacturers, when they fixed the sites where masters of their guild would be permitted to open shops. To use an expression typical of the time, the masters were in the business of establishing 'slots' or 'gaps' into which their shops might fit. For this concept they used the Turkish word *gedik*.

Helvacıs in eighteenth-century Istanbul (without Üsküdar and the seaside settlements)
• Approximate location of Helvacı shop
(2) (3) locations with two or three Helvacıs

Map 2 Istanbul halva manufacturers in the mid-eighteenth century.[3]

Source: Professor Murat Güvenc of Istanbul Bilgi University

The institution of the *gedik* and how it entered government records

It has long been known that the regulations governing Ottoman guildsmen, especially those of Istanbul, became a great deal more elaborate from the eighteenth century onwards. Historians have tended to locate this process in the hard times of the Russo–Ottoman war of 1768–74 and the catastrophic years of Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and Mahmud II (r. 1808–39). In fact regulations had already become more constraining in the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). By this time, before they could open a shop, many artisans needed formally to acquire the right to pursue a given craft specialty in a given location – or less commonly, ply their trades in places of their own choosing. This set of practices, or 'bundle of rights', as a modern historian has defined the *gedik*, was regarded as a form of property: becoming a commonplace feature of guild life, it protected the interests of the established masters and their sons. By the same token, the entry of outsiders (*ecanib*) became increasingly difficult.[4]

While regulations against such outsiders certainly had not been unknown in the seventeenth and even the sixteenth century, they do

not seem to have been widely enforced, and profit-minded artisans were quite adept at circumventing regulations and thus creating new outlets for themselves.[5] But such inventiveness surely produced diminishing returns when more and more craft organizations formally limited the number of locales where artisans belonging to this or that guild might open up a shop – although on the other hand this development was partly counteracted by what has been described as a secondary market for *gedik*s.[6] The reasons for this development are still being debated: after the 1750s, growing economic stringency may well have been the principal reason; but the 1720s and 1730s were a time of moderate expansion for many crafts, and historians have observed a tendency towards growing consumption among the better-off inhabitants of the Ottoman capital.[7] When markets expanded, guildsmen should have been less concerned about preventing the access of outsiders; however, at the present state of our knowledge, it is hard to be sure.

In this context, our concern is with the manufacturers of sweetmeats (*helvacı*), who newly instituted *gedik*s in Zilka'de 1143/November–December 1731. Since the text referring to this novelty associates the halva manufacturers' *gedik*s with the recently enthroned Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), the most influential masters of this guild may have used the unsettled conditions following the deposition of Ahmed III and the murder of the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa to ensure acceptance of the new restriction.[8] In any case, instituting *gedik*s was not a complete novelty, and certain other guilds of Istanbul had gone through the same process already under Ahmed III. To date, the original document instituting the *gedik* and bearing the name of Mahmud I has not been located, but we do possess a confirmation of the relevant order issued by Mustafa III (r. 1757–74).

After all, the death or deposition of a sultan automatically rendered all his commands null and void unless his successor confirmed them – and in due course the latter's officials often issued such a confirmation. By the mid-eighteenth century it had become common practice to record such re-issued edicts in large specialized registers, and for instance that of Mustafa III is a mine of precious information.[9] Sultan Mahmud's successor Osman III (r. 1754–57) previously had confirmed the command of his predecessor, and the fact was duly recorded; officials seem to have considered 'unbroken chains of confirmations' as important prerequisites for the re-issuing of the relevant edict by a newly enthroned ruler.

Guildsmen's monopolies

Furthermore, the confirmation of *helvacı gedik*s by Sultan Mustafa III is

linked to a set of commands that in the 1750s established the 'job descriptions' of the capital's manufacturers of sweetmeats.[10] Once again this was a saga that continued over the years. When in 1172/1759 Sultan Mustafa III confirmed the rule that selling baklava was a prerogative of the *helvacıs*, and that the bakers of sweet rolls (*çörekçis*) had no right to produce this delicacy, this was only the latest step in a series of sultanic commands that previously seem to have been honoured mostly in the breach.[11]

Apparently the conflict had first entered the official record in 1136/1723, when two bakers of sweet rolls had started to sell baklava in their shops, and also in the public street, and thereby aroused the ire of the halva manufacturers.[12] In 1139/1726–7 the matter had not yet been resolved, and even a command of the ruler seems to have remained a dead letter. Therefore the *helvacıs* asked for a formal order of the reigning sultan, complete with its *tuğra*; at this stage the bakers seem finally to have submitted; at least, we do not know of any further complaints after the Sultan had issued his second command in 1140/1727–8. Once Ahmed III had been deposed in 1730, his successors Mahmud I and Osman III duly confirmed his order. Similar competition, considered illicit by both the *helvacıs* and the authorities, had come from the members of an unnamed guild that had produced the syrup-soaked cake known as *revani*: in so doing, these people had not only infringed the monopoly of the halva manufacturers, but once again had also sold their wares in the public street, an activity expressly forbidden by the *helvacıs*' guild regulations.[13] In 1153/1740 an edict of Mahmud I established that the manufacture of *revani* was indeed a monopoly of the *helvacıs*, and once again his order was confirmed by Sultans Osman III and Mustafa III.

Addressed to contemporaries who were better informed about Ottoman bureaucratic procedure than we are, the surviving documents leave us with quite a few unanswered questions. We are left to wonder whether the two bakers had some backing in the state apparatus that made them think that they could defy the rulings of the qadi of Istanbul and even the Sultan himself. In one of our documents, the compiling official remarked that some of the men who refused to obey orders claimed that they were *askeri*, members of the Ottoman state apparatus, and in this particular context, probably janissaries or else enrolled in one of the other paramilitary corps. Soldiers were known to claim special privileges, and sometimes they used physical force to back up their demands.

Where to locate a shop: Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar and the smaller seaside settlements

Viewed from yet another angle, the document establishing the *gedik*s of Istanbul halva manufacturers is of special value because it enumerates the locations where, henceforth, salesmen could legitimately propose halva to the public. As sweetmeats are not daily necessities, we may assume that the shops of the sweetmeat-sellers were located in places where large numbers of people passed by every day: thus, even if any individual customer did not buy very much, there would be still be sufficient sales to allow the shopkeeper to survive. Such places included the city gates and also the entrances of major khans, to say nothing of the many *medrese*s in which young men prepared for careers as teachers and judges. As we do not know with any certainty which schools were operating in the years around 1750, we cannot unambiguously demonstrate that, similarly to their twentieth- or twenty-first-century counterparts, our halva manufacturers were attracted to the vicinity of schools. However, this connection still appears probable: after all, sweetmeats appeal to youngsters much more than to grown men.

In brief, we can assume that our list includes many of the 'popular spots' of mid-eighteenth-century Istanbul. Moreover, as the listing also leaves us with the impression that its compiler(s) walked through the capital inspecting the relevant sites in person, we will – with all due caution – also interpret this text as indicating the routes taken by a wanderer, perhaps a latter-day Evliya Çelebi, through the eighteenth-century Ottoman metropolis.

If these assumptions are correct, the places where the – largely male – population of Istanbul congregated were located mainly in *intra-muros* Istanbul, but to keep the most interesting sites for the end, we will begin with the settlements outside the walls. Administratively speaking, buildings beyond the ancient Byzantine land-walls formed part of the township of Eyüp, mainly known as a pilgrimage site. Eyüp also boasted shops in which clotted cream (*kaymak*) was sold; women were apparently in the habit of frequenting these shops, but a sultanic command from 981/1573 forbade the practice.[14] The town of Eyüp possessed two halva shops, and a third was located in the nearby settlement of Çömlekçiler. Hasköy, with its numerous Jewish population, boasted three such shops: we can ask ourselves whether this quarter was already becoming popular among wealthy non-Muslims, as was to happen – at least in some instances – in the nineteenth century.[15] Unfortunately we do not know whether Jewish sweetmeat manufacturers were active in this place: whenever the names of guildsmen involved in this activity turn up in our records, they are those of Muslims exclusively. Yet presumably the dietary requirements of Jews called for *helvacı*s who were familiar with the ritual needs of their customers.

In the relatively poor neighbourhood of Kasımpaşa there also were three *helvacıs* in business, perhaps because some workmen bought sweets as a distraction and supplementary source of energy when working long hours in the naval arsenal. As for Galata proper, a *helvacı* had set up shop near the gate known as Azapkapı, in the vicinity of the Mehmed Paşa mosque built by the famed architect Sinan. Another halva manufacturer found his customers among the patrons of the Yeşildirek public bath.[16] Possibly the shop located in a place known as the Arab çarşısı was somewhere near the former church now known as the Arap Camii, and yet another sweetmeat seller-was situated at a gate named Kürekçi/Kürkçü kapusu.[17] Galatasarayı served as a school for palace pages, and perhaps the inmates ordered halva whenever they had a bit of spending money. Another *helvacı* had set up shop near a mosque called 'Yeni Cami', which must be identical to the structure appearing as Yeni Valide Camii on the map of 1913–14, located in the area where the Banque Ottomane was built later on.[18] The Karaköy gate, a few steps from the Yeni Cami area, was the site of yet another sweetshop, while another two apparently were located in what was probably a khan, known as that of the box-manufacturers (Sa[n] dukçular). This count signifies that *intra-muros* Galata had nine such shops, a modest number compared to Istanbul, while the villas located beyond the walls in today's Beyoğlu/Pera did not attract any establishments of this kind. Perhaps the numerous foreigners living in that area had a different taste as far as confectionary was concerned.

Outside the Galata walls some of the Bosporus settlements were populous enough to support a few sweetmeat manufacturers. Thus there were two in Tophane, and further north there seems to have been a shop close to the Bosporus and others in Çavuşbaşı and Fındıklı.[19] In the latter place coherent settlement probably ended, as Dolmabahçe Palace along with its mosque was built only a century later. However, further to the north, the inhabitants of the villages of Beşiktaş and Ortaköy, as well as the little town of Yeniköy, all were able to purchase halva in their local shops: presumably, in the first two cases the vicinity of the summer houses of Istanbul's well-to-do, and also of members of the Sultan's family, explained a certain amount of demand for sweetmeats.[20]

On the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, the only settlement of importance was still Üsküdar, and its inhabitants seem to have generated but modest demand: one *helvacı* was located at the landing stage, another at the entrance to the Yeni Cami, two further shops in or near the 'Great' public bath (Büyük Hamam) and one each on the horse market (Atpazarı) and in the quarter of Toptaş. In spite of recent expansion, mid-eighteenth-century Üsküdar seems to have been small

and relatively poor.

Where to locate a shop: the historical centre

For a historian concerned with urban traffic and sociability, the walled city of Istanbul is the main focus of interest, for 66 of 98 shops, or about two thirds of the total, were found inside or immediately in front of the Byzantine walls. The enumeration began with the central neighbourhoods of Ayasofya and Sultan Ahmed, the latter featuring in our text as the Atmeydanı. From there, the compiler of our document seems to have walked down the hill in the general direction of the Sea of Marmara. He passed by Dikilitaş, Tavukpazarı in the vicinity of the newly completed Nuruosmaniye mosque, and Irgatpazarı, which does not appear on the maps of 1913–14.[21] Next in line was Gedikpaşa, close to the Sea of Marmara and the gate of Kumkapı. The enumeration then proceeded westward, and we can imagine the person preparing our document on his walk toward the land walls: Nişanca, Langa and Davudpaşa all had a single *helvacı* each, while Samatya possessed two of them. Unsurprisingly, one sweetmeat-seller had set up shop at the gate of Yedikule, close to where the sea and land-walls meet. As part of the Sultan's treasury was kept in this fortress, guards and garrison soldiers must have been ready customers, to say nothing of the state prisoners, including embassy personnel, who until the early 1800s often were detained in this fortress in times of war. Further sweetmeat shops were situated in Mirahor/İmrahor and Koca Mustafapaşa.

From this point onward, the author(s) of our enumeration followed the landwalls, from Silivrikapı to Topkapı, by way of a shop-lined street known as the Mimar Çarşısı, which does not appear on later maps. After listing the *helvacıs* in these three locations, he/they veered away from the walls at Topkapı. Stopping in Şehremini and Macuncu Çarşısı – the latter must be identical to the quarter of Macuncu on the 1913–14 map – he/they proceeded toward the great foundation of Sultan Bayezid (modern Beyazit, two *helvacıs*), but only after first retracing his/their steps to Davutpaşa, where he/they registered another halva manufacturer in the vicinity of the local courthouse. The next location was the Halıcılar köşkü; while today's Halıcılar is located to the north of the Golden Horn, the site referred to in our document may be identical with the area known as Halıcılar-Etmeydanı on the map of 1913–14. This latter site is not very far from the converted ex-Byzantine church known as the Kilise Camii.[22] From there it was only a short distance to Aksaray (two *helvacıs*) where our record keeper entered the Divanyolu.[23] A further sweetshop was situated in Koska, a site today located near the Faculty of Letters of

Istanbul University. Later on, this place was to give its name to a well-known shop selling halva and other 'traditional sweets', still in existence today. As another *helvacı* had his shop in the vicinity of the Simkeşhane, still extant at least in part across the street from the Faculty of Letters, this area contained an exceptionally high concentration of sweetmeat-sellers. By contrast it is remarkable that there was no such shop in the vicinity of the two covered markets in the Grand Bazaar (*bedestan*), where we would have expected brisk demand from merchants and customers alike.[24] Perhaps one of the *gedik*s located near the Sultan Bayezid mosque served the customers of the covered markets as well.

However, once arrived in this commercial centre of old Istanbul, the author(s) of our list did not proceed on the Divanyolu toward Ayasofya, probably because he/they had already accounted for all the *gedik*s in that area. Rather the enumerator(s) moved northward towards Mercan, and from there to the vicinity of the Old Palace (Saray-ı atik-i mamure). We may assume that the *helvacı* doing business in this latter location counted on the custom of the harem ladies who had been moved to this place after the sultans they had once served had departed this life.[25] From the palace site, which roughly corresponds to the grounds of the former Ministry of War and the present-day Faculty of Law of Istanbul University, our record keeper(s) continued towards Vezneciler and from there to the main thoroughfare of Şehzadebaşı; Vefa was just around the corner and Saraçhane, the site of today's city administration, a few steps further to the west.[26] As all these places possessed one *gedik* each, this area rivalled the nearby Aksaray-Koska concentration in terms of shops and expected customers.

The compiler(s) of our list then proceeded from the Saraçhane towards Fatih and ultimately the land-walls, passing through Büyük (great) Karaman and Küçük (little) Karaman, which contained one *gedik* each. As in 1600 Büyük Karaman was a market-place, it probably was used in the same fashion a hundred and fifty years later.[27] It is not so clear where the site named Odalarbaşı was located: here another *helvacı* had established his shop. In 1913–14 there was a Karaman street passing by the great foundation complex of Fatih, and the next stage, namely Sarıgüzel (one *gedik*) is easily located on early-twentieth-century maps: therefore Odalarbaşı cannot have been very far away.[28] The author of our description then turned back towards the land walls: the first *gedik* he recorded was in Alipaşa, later Eski Alipaşa, and from there he proceeded to Karagümrük and Acıçeşme.[29] From these places, it was only a short distance back to the land-walls, which he reached at Edirnekapı (one shop on each of these sites). Our investigator continued to Eğrikapı, near the ruins of the Byzantine

palace known as the Tekfursarayı, and from there reached Sultanhamamı; however, this latter site must not be confused with the better-known place bearing this name near the Yeni Cami in Eminönü.[30] After passing through a locality whose name seems to have been Lonca, and where at one time one of Istanbul's many guilds may have had its seat, the compiler(s) arrived at Balatkapısı, from where he/they entered Balat proper. The next stop was the town quarter of Kantarcılar, which owed its name to the artisans manufacturing weighing scales (*kantar*); from this place our record keeper proceeded to the Golden Horn and recorded a *gedik* at the gate of Odunkapısı.[31]

From here onward the list becomes somewhat confused, as we hear next of two shops in Tahtakale; while both these *helvacıs* probably found many customers in this busy locality, highly commercial then as it is now, Tahtakale is located near the Yeni Cami and not in the Balat-Fener region. More appropriate to Istanbul's geography is the following stop at Sultan Selim. From there the compiler(s) supposedly continued towards Haseki; once again, this stop does not fit into the local geography, as the only area named Haseki found on modern maps is much further to the south. Neither should Unkapanı and Ayazmakapısı have been visited before Fener, which after all is situated further to the north-west, adjacent to Balat.[32] All these locales had a single *helvacı* each. After having passed Küçük Mustafapaşa with its two *gedik*s, our record keeper(s) definitely had arrived in the area of today's Eminönü: the fish market that he/they recorded (Balıkpazarı, one *gedik*) still existed in the years immediately preceding World War I, and the other stop, namely Hocapaşa, appears on today's maps. Two shops were located in or near the Alacahamam: as the map of 1913–14 records a curiously named 'Alacahamam mosque'near Sultanhamam, our compiler(s) evidently was/were still moving around in the same area.[33] As from Hocapaşa the Ayasofya could be reached by walking for just a few minutes, we can say that our hypothetical record keeper(s) now had completed a full tour of the walled city.

Recapitulation

What does this listing of *helvacıs* tell us about the distribution of crafts, urban traffic and communications? Evidently the gates were sites where our guildsmen expected to find customers: nine shops out of 98 were explicitly located near a gate, and it is likely that those in Fener or Unkapanı were situated very close by.[34] Both the gates in the land-walls and those fronting the Golden Horn were popular sites, but the walls bordering the Sea of Marmara did not arouse much interest

among Istanbul's sweetmeat-sellers, who typically set up shop some distance away. After all, this area had become something of a backwater ever since the old Theodosian harbour had silted up. As probably the area near the land-walls was not too densely inhabited either, the drovers, vegetable merchants and other suppliers who passed through these gates every day on their way to khans and markets must have made up a significant share of the *helvacıs*' customers: on the return trip, with a little money in their pockets, some of these men must have 'splurged', buying a bit of halva for themselves and their families.

Other areas of concentration were the region between the Grand Bazaar and Aksaray on the one hand, and the neighbourhood of the Fatih foundation on the other; in the latter case, the students and servants of the schools and other institutions abounding in this region should have attracted the sweetmeat-sellers. In addition, there was a notable concentration of *gedik*s on the shore of the Golden Horn, a commercial area visited by out-of-towners and relatively open to new fashions: this area also seems to have housed Istanbul's earliest coffee-houses.[35]

At the same time, it is worth recording some of the places where we would have expected to find *helvacıs*, yet where none apparently existed: thus, when in summer the inhabitants of the Ottoman capital spent time on the numerous promenades near the city, there should have been a seasonal opportunity for halva-sellers. As street sales were formally prohibited by the guild, it seems, however, that the *helvacıs* did not regard these promenades as an occasion for an extra bit of business. Of course it is hard to say whether they really adhered to this prohibition. Perhaps the relaxed atmosphere often prevailing in such picnic areas extended to ambulant halva salesmen as well. Interestingly, only six halva-sellers positioned their shops in the vicinity of public baths, which surely provided potential customers, especially among the women who came to these places in order to socialize. At present I cannot think of a good reason for this reticence.

Our discussion is only a small beginning: as monographs on individual trades practised in Istanbul become more numerous, we will hopefully be able to compile distribution maps for other crafts as well. It would be especially worthwhile to find out whether certain kinds of shops 'went well together': people drinking sherbet or coffee might wish to order halva, and *helvacıs* thus occurred in the vicinity of sherbet-sellers or coffee-houses. It is also worth thinking about the lack of references to non-Muslim *helvacıs*: if this trade was an exclusively Muslim specialty, did Jews and Christians buy from Muslims or were they not interested in the consumption of halva?

Moreover, once more lists of the type analysed here become

available, we also may arrive at a better understanding of the routes and meeting places available to the inhabitants of Istanbul when they moved through their city. An eighteenth-century wanderer starting out at the Ayasofya had a choice between four major routes. Through the quarters parallel to the Sea of Marmara he could proceed all the way to Yedikule, although this route presumably was less popular than the others, as it did not touch the business centre. However, once arrived in the area, there were points of attraction at least for a halva maker, for the pilgrims visiting the dervish lodge of Koca Mustafa Paşa, once a Byzantine convent, may well have bought his wares once the religious part of their visit was over. A second route passed through the Sultan Bayezid complex and Aksaray towards the Topkapı gate in the land-walls, and we may imagine that the nearby janissary barracks – now all destroyed – provided customers for the halva manufacturers who set up shop in this area. A third route led through Şehzadebaşı, where the former grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa had established his rather spectacular colonnaded and shop-lined street, the Direklerarası of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century fame.[36] From there the route passed by the theological schools of Fatih with their youthful clientele and continued to Edirnekapı, another major gate in the land-walls.

Last but not least, the halva manufacturer searching for a suitable place might follow the Golden Horn as far as Balat and Eyüp. Thus the shores of the Golden Horn afforded space for movement by land and, perhaps more importantly, by sea, in addition to the Divanyolu, with its branches leading to Yedikule, Topkapı and Edirnekapı. Certainly the Golden Horn had a role to play in traffic and communications, but as the many Istanbul panoramas focusing on this area clearly show, it also shaped the image of the Ottoman capital as it appeared to visitors doing business in the area – and presumably the same thing applied to the city's regular inhabitants. Near the gates opening towards the Golden Horn, traders, students and transportation workers on their way to the various landing stages may well have stopped and treated themselves to some halva.

CHAPTER 13

Where to make and sell cheap textiles in eighteenth-century Istanbul: a buyer's guide

In the present chapter I will employ the numerous data on the localization of Istanbul artisans, in this case the manufacturers and especially the sellers of cheap textiles, to get a better sense of the way in which the denizens of the eighteenth-century Ottoman capital used the space available to them. Was the buying and selling of these everyday goods restricted to the central business district surrounding the Grand Bazaar, or were there perhaps shops closer to the customers in other parts of the city? How did the Ottoman administration react to artisans who upon their own initiative attempted to find sites that hopefully would allow them to optimize their sales?

Scholars working on Ottoman artisans have known for quite some time that during the eighteenth century, there was a long-term tendency towards imposing obligatory business locations (*gedik*s) on more and more trades, from which they had been absent in earlier times. An important stage in this process occurred in the late 1720s and early 1730s, in other words the last years of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30) and the beginning of the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730–54).[1] An Istanbul qadi register from those years, now fortunately available in print, has documented this process, as it contains lists of numerous Istanbul trades, and the places where the practitioners of these trades now were to position their shops. In fact practically all the documents in this volume concern shopkeepers and craftsmen. We must therefore conclude that at the time there existed a broad, encompassing and systematic project to regulate the activities of the capital's guildsmen, with location in urban space an especially high priority.[2] Why this project became such a major concern in the 1720s and 1730s and not at some other time is still an open question, but whatever the reasons, this enterprise must have taken a prominent place on the political

agenda, as it was quite unusual to devote an entire volume of the qadi registers to a single topic of any kind, let alone the affairs of modest artisans.

In the past, historians have tried to find explanations for the spread of the *gedik*, that highlighted late-eighteenth-century attempts at raising money on the part of the pious foundations from which many artisans rented their shops. To compensate for growing fiscal demands, foundation administrators apparently attempted to raise rents. In reaction, artisans may have tried to ward off rent increases at a time when a severe political and economic crisis made bare survival difficult. Making the right to exercise a trade in a particular, documented location into a possession that could be passed from fathers to sons and even daughters, may have seemed a viable strategy.[3]

Yet once it had become clear that the spread of the *gediks* antedated the economic crisis beginning in the 1760s, scholars have sought for more encompassing explanations. Certainly the economic crisis of the later eighteenth century must have been a contributing factor, but it is also plausible that Mahmud I, still insecure on his throne after the rebellion of 1730, gave in to artisans always anxious to limit the numbers of potential competitors. The Sultan may well have authorized the institution of new *gedik*s for this reason.[4]

However, as we now learn that certain trades, with the support of qadis and other officials, had adopted *gedik*s already under Ahmed III, this explanation also is not encompassing enough. At present we may hypothesize that the Ottoman sultans of the time, in the business of reasserting control at least over the empire's central provinces after the disruptive wars of 1683–99 and 1715–18, were inclined to further the institution of new *gedik*s because they facilitated control. After all, the administration of that time was more than usually worried about the size of Istanbul, and anxious to send migrants back to their original places of residence.[5] Artisans unable either to find work in a recognized shop, or else acquire a *gedik* in person, were prime candidates for removal, although as new documents constantly keep emerging, this hypothesis is only valid *jusqu'à plus ample informé*.

Guildsmen of the 1720s and 1730s needed to present guarantors for their good behaviour (*kefil,* pl. *küfela*).[6] At times the authorities convoked the guarantors and admonished them to ensure that their charges stuck to the rules, for instance did not charge prices higher than those officially decreed. Quite often all holders of *gedik*s pertaining to a given craft needed to stand surety for one another, an arrangement that ensured guild cohesion but also heightened mutual control and made any deviations from guild rules, including technical innovations, more difficult. Such mutual guarantees had been

common during periods of crisis,[7] but now they seemingly became current practice even in 'normal' times.[8]

In some cases the entries in the qadi register of 1726–38 also included the 'rules of the trade' adopted by this or that guild; these regulations were known as *nizâm*.[9] In many cases the relevant texts were quite short and give only a limited idea of how the masters in question should have practised their craft. We may assume that established guildsmen orally informed their apprentices and journeymen of many further rules that doubtless were in existence; such an arrangement made sense since so many artisans were illiterate. Presumably the officials in charge requested senior representatives of the trade to come up with what they considered the most important rules. Sometimes the Sultan's scribes recorded such statements independently of the listings of guild members, either in the margins of the manuscript or else as independent entries. These additions might concern individuals: thus we learn that a certain soap-seller after an official admonition had to promise that he would only sell soap and refrain from impinging on the 'territory' of the wax-sellers by also offering wax to his customers.[10]

Istanbul's 'mass market' textiles: *abacis* and the cotton trade

Whoever has studied Ottoman artisans knows that the textile trades held a special place, because there was not much furniture in eighteenth-century Istanbul dwellings, and it was cushion covers, bedspreads, curtains and rugs that made simple wooden houses into homes. Ever since the 1960s Ottomanist historians have therefore studied the textile trades in their different aspects, focusing on Bursa and, to a lesser degree, Ankara and the cities of the Arab world.[11] However, apart perhaps from 'palace-quality' silks and brocades, Istanbul producers have aroused less interest; scholars probably have neglected these crafts because their products normally went to the local market only and did not become objects of interregional trade.[12]

Given the size of the Istanbul market, four to five hundred thousand people in the late 1700s and early 1800s, I think that this neglect is not justified; thus we will discuss the sellers – and sometimes manufacturers – of a variety of relatively cheap, 'mass market' textiles.[13] These people belonged to the trades known as *bezzaz* (cloth-sellers, usually specializing in cottons), *abacıs*, or sellers of rough woollens, *iplikçis*, or yarn merchants, and *dimicis*, who were perhaps the manufacturers and certainly the sellers of a rough cotton fabric known as *dimi*. At the head of these four trades, which included a lone *alacacı*, or maker/seller of striped or mixed-fibre fabrics, there were a single headman (*kethüda*) along with his second-in-command

(*yiğitbaşı*). Administratively speaking, these shopkeepers/artisans, in spite of their different specialties, thus were part of one and the same organization.

In the shops of the 286 *abacıs* on record, customers could find simple woollens (*aba*), similar to the cloth worn by peasants and shepherds; unfortunately the qadis' scribes did not tell us whether these fabrics had been brought into Istanbul from Filibe (present-day Plovdiv), where the relevant crafts were widely practised at that time.[14] As for the 58 *bezzaz*, they must have brought in cottons from Bursa or Manisa.[15] Mixed in with the *abacıs* and *bezzaz* we find a much smaller group called the *dimicis*; 29 men made/marketed this fabric. As noted previously, *dimi* was an inexpensive cotton cloth, used for the underwear of sailors and documented already in 1600; at present it is hard to say how *dimi* differred from other cheap cotton fabrics such as *bogasi* or *beledi*.[16] In addition there were 40 sellers of yarn (*iplikçi*). Among the 414 members of this combined guild with its four subdivisions, 179 were Muslims and 245 non-Muslims, the latter being for the most part Orthodox.

Troublesome situations

At least in Istanbul the woollen-cloth-sellers also functioned as tailors, and employed significant quantities of *aba* and *bogası*, the latter probably serving as a lining fabric. Just like 'regular' tailors, for this kind of work they used large boards known as *destgâh* and heated irons; this fact upset the tailors, who felt that the use of these implements was their own particular privilege.[17] However, the *abacıs* with shops near the land-walls, in other words in modest residential quarters and not in the central business district, retorted that from time immemorial they had been allowed to use these implements when sewing the baggy pants, vests and robes worn by 'Bulgarians and Albanians'. As previously noted, the headman who stated the *abacıs*' claim was in charge of a large guild of which the woollen merchants were only a part; his role as the head of four crafts may well have increased his clout. In addition, the woollen traders had powerful outside support: for apart from the headman of the *Bitpazarı* (flea market, market for second-hand goods), where in the early 1700s many textile crafts were located, the manufacturers of swords and hand-guns as well as a group of people who sold miscellaneous second-hand goods (*oturakçı*) confirmed the *abacıs*' claims.[18] It was quite unusual for people from outside two guilds which disputed the right to manufacture this or that commodity, to voice an opinion on these questions; perhaps the 'Bulgarians and Albanians' whose clothes the *abacıs* could sew were military men and not merely traders or

labourers. In any case, the *abacıs* had to promise that they would limit themselves to this particular clientele and leave the manufacture of all other garments to the tailors.

Our register does not provide much information on the manner in which the *bezzaz* and *iplikçis* operated. However, due to a complaint from the spinners concerning high prices for raw cotton, which the administration took very seriously, we have a certain amount of information on how the spinners, described as orphans and widows, procured the cotton which they worked.

Unfortunately the extant texts deal not with the *iplikçis*, who must have marketed the finished product, but with the cleaners of raw cotton (*hallaç*), who processed the material before it even reached the spinners. The documents thus tell us nothing definite about the relationship between merchants and workpeople. As the spinners took the initiative in complaining about high prices, they were probably working on their own account, in other words they needed to purchase their cotton in the marketplace. But if the 'widows and orphans' were linked to their suppliers by a 'putting out' arrangement, conceivably they also might have been cognizant of cotton prices, namely if the oral contracts binding the two sides made the spinners responsible for procuring their own raw materials. Or else the merchants may have claimed that they could not pay their workpeople more than a pittance, as their profits were being squeezed between high prices for unworked cotton and low – administratively decreed – prices for yarn.

Raw cotton came to Istanbul from Akhisar and Kırkağaç in western Anatolia and also from Rumeli, in particular Gelibolu and Serres.[19] However, the cotton from Gelibolu was of inferior quality and therefore the traders received permission to sell it outside of the city, while in all other cases they needed special permits to do so, either from the head of the cotton-cleaners or else from the judge: the text does not specify.

Merchants needed to bring the newly arrived cotton into the business structure known as the Balkapanı Han, close to the Golden Horn in downtown Istanbul, an ancient commercial site within the area once used by the Venetians.[20] The document discussing the trade of the cotton-cleaners (*hallaç*) lists the expenses of the latter: according to the officially decreed price (*narh*), they paid 14.25 *guruş* for a *kantar* of raw cotton; this meant that a *vakiyye/vukkiye/okka* (1.28 kg) came to slightly over 38.5 *akçe*. The artisans then had to pay an array of servants working in the building, so that with expenses included they paid 46 *akçe/kantar*. The cotton-cleaners were permitted to take eight *akçe* as a payment for their labour, which thus amounted to slightly over 17 per cent of 38.5 *akçe*. As Ottoman

artisans typically were allowed to take between 10 and 20 per cent as their remuneration, the cotton-cleaners were treated with relative generosity. In exchange they had to promise that they would clean the cotton three or four times to rid it of all impurities.

Officials assumed that with the *okka* of clean cotton going for 54 *akçe*, the difficulties of the spinners had been solved: but they may well have been overly optimistic, as the new arrangement only reduced the wholesale price of untreated cotton from 15 to 14.25 *guruş*, a savings of five per cent. Moreover, it is hard to tell whether the weavers really felt the reduction or whether the latter was 'swallowed' by the cotton-cleaners and servants of the Balkapanı Han.

Where to find cheap textiles

Even today, in Istanbul as in New York, certain activities cluster in particular places, and *a fortiori* the same thing applied to the 1700s, when mutual controls were much facilitated by the fact that most artisans could exercise their trades only on particular sites, which also housed the shops of their fellow guildsmen. And again then, as today, people could buy cheap goods from street sellers without shops, today's *işportacıs*: the qadis' registers called these men *yaymacıs*, because they spread (*yayınmak*) their goods on the pavement. In the early 1700s these salesmen could not ply their trade in the public street, where even then, they hindered traffic.[21] Moreover, the tenants of shops, who paid rent and taxes linked to their occupation of real estate, usually did not take kindly to such salesmen underselling them in front of their own premises. Presumably the street sellers dealing in particular textiles agreed among themselves where to spread out their goods on a blanket or rug, perhaps in the forecourt of a mosque, a market place or – illegally – on the public street. As a result of this itinerancy, the *yaymacıs* mentioned in the register did not have a specific site, as was normal practice where shop-bound artisans or traders were at issue. Even among these modest people, however, the qadis' scribes took note of considerable specialization, and they recorded a street seller as dealing in yarn (*iplikçi*), cheap cotton (*dimici*) or rough woollens (*abacı*).

For *abacıs* and *bezzaz*, by far the most popular location was the (former) flea market (*bitpazarı*), which by the early 1700s seemingly had been converted to other uses. While 103 people had their shops in and around this site, it remained unclear why, when and how the textile dealers had colonized the area of the flea market.[22] By the early twentieth century, Goad's map recorded a 'Bitpazarı Sokak' near the Bayezid Square entrance to the Grand Bazaar, but the *Alman mavileri* did not include any site bearing this name.[23] Little is known

about it, as even Evliya Çelebi's extensive description of Istanbul artisans barely mentioned the location, although he certainly referred to the tricks of the salesmen dealing in used goods.[24] All we can say at this juncture is that in the mid-1700s the Istanbul flea market probably was located in or near the Grand Bazaar, close to a business structure known as the Yeni Han. Unfortunately this latter item did not feature among the buildings serving Istanbul pious foundations in 1600 or those in use at the end of the eighteenth century and on record in Armenian sources.[25] By the early twentieth century Goad's maps recorded several Yeni Han, among which it is hard to make a choice. Possibilities for confusion increased yet further, as Galata had a flea market of its own.[26]

While most of the shops tenanted by *bezzaz* were located within the (former) flea market, some salesmen received their customers not in but near this place or building. Apparently it was common in other branches of trade as well, that artisans/traders who could not find accommodation within a given structure did business in shops that were close by (*der-kurb*) the *han* or market in question. In the *bitpazarı* instance, three of the shopkeepers located 'close by' were *abacıs* and Armenians, while in the *bitpazarı* proper Muslims predominated, with a sprinkling of Armenians present here as well.[27] But two Muslims also had their shops '*der-kurb-ı bitpazarı*' (near the flea market), even including a personage bearing the title of *bey*, who thus must have been of some prominence.[28] At present we know too little about social relations within the clothing trades to decide how this distribution had come about; as the numbers involved are quite small, chance was perhaps the decisive factor.

Much less popular was the location known as Zindankapı/Zindankapısı with its 24 shops. At least we know for sure where it was located: near the Eminönü side of today's Galata Bridge, close to the ruins of the Byzantine city gate known as Zindankapı today.[29] In this neighbourhood *abacıs* were dominant; differently from the (former) flea market, here it was Orthodox and not Armenian masters who shared the shop-lined streets with their Muslim colleagues. By the 1760s, however, Orthodox *abacıs* often had their shops outside the gate, in the little-urbanized territory between the Golden Horn and the city walls, while the Muslim woollen merchants, who came to the aid of their guild warden in a dispute with the Orthodox masters of Zindankapı, favoured the territory of the (former) flea market, which previously had been the preferred territory not of the *abacıs* but of the *bezzaz*.[30] We have no way of knowing whether by that time there were no Muslim *abacıs* near Zindankapı; in any event, if they existed, they did not participate in the dispute.

As for the *dimicis*, some of them had their shops near the Golden

Horn/Haliç gate of Ayazmakapısı where certain *abacıs* also were located; others had branched out and set up shop in different parts of the city, or even were itinerant salesmen. Insofar as the cotton and woollen trades were concerned, Ayazmakapısı was a completely Christian section where no Muslims or Jews had set up shop. Moreover, almost all the textile traders in this area were Orthodox, although one of the shopkeepers was called Martin, a name popularized by a Western saint that was used mainly by Catholics (and Protestants). This man may have been a member of Galata's small but ancient Catholic community, or else a descendant of immigrants from the western Balkans who had come to Istanbul in search of work; it is also possible that he was an Armenian convert to Catholicism. Other textile traders had set up shop in Balmumcu: they all dealt in yarn and were for the most part Muslims.[31]

Many dealers in cheap textiles favoured the vicinity of the land-walls, for we find them in places like Karagümrük, Çukurbostan, Edirnekapı, Yedikule, Ayvansarayı and Topkapı. In Karagümrük there were six *abacıs*, and the same number had set up shop in Çukurbostan; probably all these men were Orthodox.[32] As for the 11 *abacıs* of Edirnekapı, they were all – likely Orthodox – Christians. Perhaps this site was advantageous for the trade in cheap woollens because of the many sheep drovers (*celeb*) from the Balkans who brought their animals to this place and must have been in the market for new cloaks once they had received their money. In Yedikule as well, there were 14 shops, all tenanted by presumably Orthodox traders in rough woollens. Topkapı and Ayvansarayı by contrast were of minor importance.

The textile-sellers with shops in and around the city's business structures form a separate category: thus, in and close by the Ali Paşa Hanı, the Kilithan, the Suluhan and the Katırhan there were traders in cotton fabrics or yarn.[33] Since the numbers were almost always quite small, some of these shops probably owed their existence to the fact that the merchants and artisans who formed the majority population of these buildings occasionally needed new shirts. As for the yarn merchants, perhaps they sold to tailors and also to the weavers (*cüllah*), who do not play any role in the documents collected in the qadi register of 1726–38 but who must have existed none the less.

Among intra-urban locations, the district of Vezneciler was a favourite of the sellers of *aba*: the 17 shopkeepers were all Christians, their names indicating Balkan origins. This area, close to the foundation of the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa – murdered in 1730 – had come to possess numerous shops grouped in a rather spectacular shop-lined street (*arasta*). The area had not been so commercially important in the seventeenth century, as neither the

register of pious foundations from the year 1600 nor Evliya Çelebi have much to say about it. But it was perhaps the very novelty of the site that had attracted a group of immigrant woollen traders, who may well have found their first customers in the building-workers employed in what came to be known as Direklerarası, or 'between the columns'.[34]

Quite enigmatic is the concentration of textile shops in the immediate vicinity of the İbrahim Paşa bath: for here we observe eight *abacıs* and one *dimici*, all apparently Orthodox Christians who probably had originated from the Balkans. Unfortunately there were so many İbrahim Paşas who could have built a bath-house, that we cannot identify it with any certainty. A likely candidate is the *hamam* in the urban ward of Saraçhane belonging to the foundation of a pasha who flourished under Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) and had a relevant document (*vakfiyye*) made out in 899/1493–4. This man, who built a mosque cum theological school (*medrese*) in Istanbul, another *medrese* in Kastamonu and a further mosque in İznik, was a member of the ancient vizier family of the Çandarlızade, whose centre was in İznik but whose fortunes waned after about 1500.[35] If the scribes indeed referred to this building, we cannot go into details, for it was torn down in the 1950s; only a recent computer reconstruction gives us some idea of its appearance.[36] The only reason that I can discern for the concentration of *abacıs* in this place is the location, a stone's throw from the business centre of Saraçhane and also of the great foundation of Mehmed the Conqueror, with its many students. Presumably the latter needed new cloaks at regular intervals.

Outside the walled city, seven *abacıs* had shops in Üsküdar; the Bosporus township of Yeniköy, with its seafaring population, was home to two *abacıs* and two *dimicis*. But apart from the *bitpazarı* region, the most vibrant centre of the trade in cheap textiles was to the north of the Golden Horn, in Tophane, Galata proper, and especially in the seaside district of Yağkapanı. If the location of the street named Yağkapanı around 1900 is a valid indicator, this area was halfway between the Galata and Unkapanı Bridges; as the Galata covered market was on Yağkapanı Street, the latter must have been at the heart of the local business district.[37] Obviously this area housed not only the public weighing scales and storehouses for fatty substances, but also a sizeable population of *abacıs*. Yet the prominence of this area as a centre for the trade in woollen cloth probably was quite recent: Evliya Çelebi's description of Galata, which apparently reflects the situation of the mid-1600s, mentioned only a rather nondescript mosque called Yağkapanı Câmi'i, with a small minaret and associated shops selling olive oil. Evliya had nothing to say about *abacıs* in this area, about whose overall presence in the city

he seems to have had virtually no information.[38] Similarly to what we have observed for contemporary Zindankapı, no less than 66 Muslims and Christians apparently shared the streets of the Yağkapanı quarter, with their shops cheek by jowl. Such a large number of shops must have meant that the sellers of rough woollens located in this part of town attracted buyers from beyond Galata: the seafaring population visiting the port comes to mind immediately. Demand also came from the workmen in the naval arsenal of Kasımpaşa, who needed protection from rain and cold while going about their work.

In conclusion

Cooperation between specialists in twentieth- or twenty-first-century urban studies and historians of pre-Tanzimat Istanbul is still quite rare. Scholars concerned with what has been called the proto-statistical age, in other words the period between 1500 and the later 1800s, where the Ottoman world is concerned, simply do not possess the data that urban-studies specialists working on the recent past have come to expect. Moreover, because data accessible to statistical treatment are hard to find, most of the people working on Ottoman social history do not have the training that would equip them to make the best use of those materials that are in fact available.

However, with the publication of many Ottoman documents of potential statistical interest, in Latin characters, which makes them accessible to computer treatment, this situation can change; and the publication of documents in standard Arabic characters can serve the same purpose once people are willing to put in the effort needed for coordination. It thus makes sense for specialists in contemporary urban studies and Ottoman social historians to take a closer look at each other's work.[39] The present chapter is intended as a modest step in this direction.

It is worth noting that throughout Istanbul there were so many sites where the customer could find cheap cottons and woollens. Obviously neither guildsmen nor officials attempted to concentrate commerce in these commodities in one or two parts of town, although the former flea market and the Yağkapanı district of Galata held dominant positions. Presumably, because the *abacıs*, *dimicis*, *bezzaz* and *iplikçis* offered cheap textiles that people used on an everyday basis, it made sense for the sellers of these goods to be as close to their customers as possible.

With respect to the cohabitation between Muslims and non-Muslims, apparently 'mixity' was possible in the larger business sites like the (former) flea market, where it was normal enough for some Christians to do business in a place dominated by Muslims. In

Zindankapı or Yağkapanı we also find both Muslims and Christians at work. Interestingly, in these two cases the recording officials listed the textile dealers of Zindankapı and Yağkapanı not by religion but in a sequence that to us appears quite arbitrary; perhaps they registered the shops according to their arrangement in the public street. If the scribes really proceeded in this manner, Ahmed was a neighbour to Yanaki and Mehmed to Angeli.[40]

Certain markets and streets did, however, show a mild tendency toward segregation by religion, and this phenomenon characterized the less important sites. Here we only find people belonging to a single religion; but given the limits of our current knowledge, we cannot tell whether tendencies towards segregation on the one hand, and 'mixity' on the other were permanent features, or whether in the early 1700s, they were greater or else less pronounced than had been true in the past.[41]

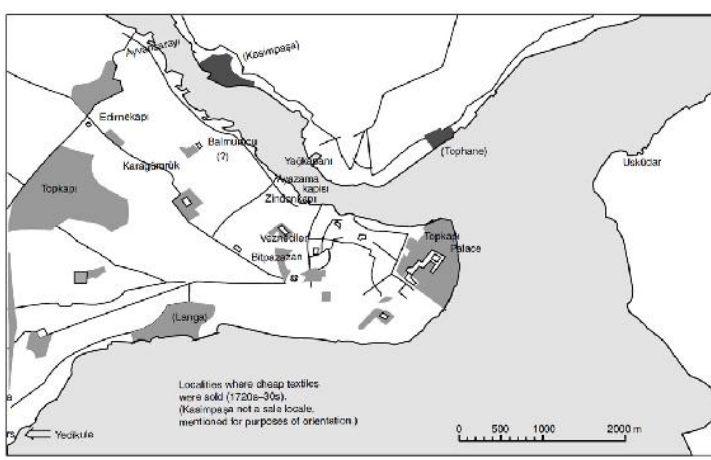
After all, at present we are not yet in a position to chart the changes in shop locations over time, and this gap forms the major weakness of our discussion. For change in time is the essence of the historian's business. Only when we can separate the relatively constant elements of the textile trades' geographical distribution from those that changed profoundly in the course of some fifty or a hundred years, will we be able to evaluate the significance of the early-eighteenth-century patterns that we currently are trying to establish. In concrete terms it would be most valuable to find out when and why certain districts such as the *intra-muros* (former) flea market, Vezneciler or else the Yağkapanı district of Galata, previously inert as far as the textile trade was concerned, between the mid-1600s and the 1720s became centres for the commerce in cheap cloth. And if it is indeed true that by the 1760s there were many *aba*-traders in what had previously been the territory of the dealers in cotton cloth, perhaps the existence of *gedik*s bound to a given locale did not prevent shopkeepers from relocating: it probably just made the process more difficult.

In the case of the *abacı*s, settlement in places like the (former) flea market or the Yağkapanı district of Galata was maybe due to immigration. By the early 1700s there may have been many *abacı*s from the Filibe district doing business in Istanbul, both Muslims and Christians, who found it difficult to fit into the previously established locations. We also may wonder whether the 'mild tendency' toward segregation by religion in business districts that seems to emerge from some of our data was the harbinger of the more dramatic restructuring that was to characterize the nineteenth century. Investigations of this kind will keep us busy for quite some time, and in all probability many surprises are as yet in store.

CHAPTER 14

In quest of their daily bread: artisans of Istanbul under Selim III (r. 1789–1807)

In this concluding chapter I will discuss the research that has been done, mostly by a generation of young scholars, concerning the hardships suffered by craftspeople and other poor urbanites in Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth and during the beginning years of the nineteenth century. Quite a few such studies having appeared in the last few years, many still in the dissertation stage, I think the time has come to attempt a synthesis, albeit a provisional one. In turn, such an enterprise will make it possible to draw a few conclusions concerning the vexed question of economic as opposed to political motivations for popular rebellions in the Ottoman capital. This problem transcends the eighteen-year rule of Selim IIII that is our immediate concern here and hopefully will contribute to our understanding of the complicated relationship of state and society at the Ottoman centre in the *longue durée*.



Map 3 Localities where cheap textiles were sold (1720s–30s).

Source: Robert Mantran, *Istanbul* (Paris, Istanbul, 1962).

From the work of Lütfi Güçer, Münir Aktepe, Mehmet Genç and Salih Aynural we have learned something about the manner in which the Ottoman administration of the eighteenth century, hard pressed by wars and subsistence crises, attempted to achieve a balance between food supply and urban population.[1] It was a difficult task. On the basis of the amount of grain that the people of Istanbul consumed in a single day, the French traveller Antoine Olivier had estimated in the 1790s that the city – presumably together with the suburbs – held over half a million inhabitants.[2] As for Ottoman archival documentation, Betül Başaran has recently studied a number of relevant population registers, from which it appears that in 1829 the city, together with its suburbs, held about 360,000 people. Whether Olivier had miscalculated, and the suburbs included in the two estimates were different, or the city had suffered a massive loss in population, unfortunately remains unknown. In any event, these numbers of people were far too great to live on the grain available in the immediate hinterland, given the – *pace* Antoine Olivier – limited agricultural resources of Thrace and the expense of transporting grain from inland Anatolia or the Balkans in the absence of usable waterways.[3]

Counting, controlling and pruning the artisan population of Istanbul

Roughly speaking, the Sultan's administration approached the problem from two sides: on the one hand, by limiting or even cutting down the population of the capital, and on the other, by rigidly controlling the sources of grain and the manner in which corn was supplied to the city's consumers. The first of these undertakings has left us with a relatively large number of official registers, which aimed at determining the number of Istanbul residents. On the basis of these data, mostly concerning adult males but in some instances including women and children as well, the administration hoped to find out which men had no jobs or other legitimate occupations, and send them 'home.' Whether the people thus driven out of Istanbul had any provincial homes to go back to was not discussed and therefore remains unknown. In 1792, the sultan even had the *medreses* combed in order to establish whether the people living there were *bona fide* students; if not, they presumably should have been returned to their home towns or villages.[4] In the crisis years during which Selim III occupied the throne, officials furthermore assumed that some artisans who did possess a clientele were really 'surplus to need'. Thus under

certain circumstances even employed craftsmen might be deported from Istanbul.[5]

However, the surviving documents did not specify the criteria by which a given artisan was to be considered 'surplus': perhaps the unfortunate man's neighbours in the shop-lined streets where artisans typically operated, had denounced him as possessing few customers. We can also assume that people who had fallen foul of their guild headmen and/or colleagues were prime candidates for deportation. After all, their fellow guildsmen might report them to the administration as people who made no contribution to the well-being of their fellow *İstanbullus*.

Yet we do not know how many of the men expelled actually left the city, and if they did leave, whether they really stayed away for good. Migrants being for the most part young men, quite a few of them must have found ways and means of travelling cross-country and thus by-passing the controls on the high roads which figured so prominently in eighteenth-century documents. Moreover, in the absence of surnames and systematic population registration it must have been difficult to keep track of migrants: while some of these men doubtless were caught by the sultan's officials and recorded in their registers, others for instance must have moved from Istanbul *intra muros* to Galata, Eyüp/Haslar kazası and Üsküdar – or vice versa – and thus escaped detection. In addition, there were categories of immigrants not normally subject to deportation, such as the fez-importers and -sellers who usually came from Tunis: these people were by definition immigrants and yet their presence was tolerated.[6] On the whole it would appear that the numerous plague epidemics of the eighteenth century cut down population more drastically than any official actions. After all, between 1700 and 1850, the plague was present in Istanbul during ninety-four years out of one hundred and fifty.[7]

However, Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran have rightfully concentrated not on the omissions but rather on the positive data which the late-eighteenth-and early-nineteenth-century registers provide on Istanbul residents. Especially Kırlı's work has changed our perceptions quite significantly: first of all he has shown that at least in the regions he has studied in his dissertation, namely Hasköy and Eyüp on the one hand, and the villages along the western shores of the Bosporus on the other, there was no division of labour by religion or denomination. People seem to have chosen their occupations more often according to regional traditions: both Muslims and non-Muslims who had migrated to Istanbul from the same town or region often practised the same craft specialties.

This observation is important because it implies that bonds forged among fellow provincials in the capital (*hemşehrilik*) might transcend

religious divides: recent migrants could only establish a foothold in a given craft if their predecessors were willing to take them on as apprentices and/or otherwise facilitate their entry into the relevant guild. After all, by the late 1700s, in most crafts a newcomer needed to acquire a *gedik*, elegantly defined as 'a bundle of rights and obligations' before he could practise a given craft in a given place.[8] By 1800 these *gedik*s were often acquired from relatives. If a rigid division of labour by religion had really been the norm, it is hard to imagine that Muslim masters would have supported their non-Muslim *hemşehri*s in their quest for Istanbul *gedik*s – or vice versa. On the contrary, we would have expected Muslims to extend such aid only to other Muslims, and the members of the various non-Muslim communities to do the same. Evidently, around 1800, there were bonds transcending the ethno-religious divides of the Ottoman world.

Certainly the urban wards documented in the registers studied by Kırlı were not exactly at the hub of the city and therefore not comparable to the region around the Kapalıçarşı or else Galata. We should therefore not automatically assume that what was true for petty craftsmen in outlying areas of Istanbul automatically applied to the 'rich' trades of jewellers, furriers or manufacturers of silk cloth.[9] But even so Hasköy, Eyüp and the western Bosporus villages contained a significant number of non-agricultural workplaces, 1,711 to be precise. However, as we might expect, the shops and workshops active in this area often served the daily needs of the local population, especially where food and entertainment were involved.[10] Coffee-houses thus were the most frequent type of business, and the only 'large' workplaces, with fifteen or more employees on record, were all bakeries.

Kırlı has also made another interesting observation, namely that about a quarter of the 4,367 masters, apprentices and labourers documented in his records lived in the shops in which they also worked. After all, we normally expect Istanbul artisans and shopkeepers to inhabit residential town quarters, perhaps spatially close to but otherwise separate from the 'business centre'. We may wonder whether many of the artisans and shopkeepers who thus economized on living space were not recent migrants, in some cases young unmarried relatives of the shop owners, who had been taken in and were being groomed to take over the businesses in question in due course. It is also possible that some of the poorest artisans built temporary, lean-to structures that housed their families, probably under most uncomfortable conditions.

Apart from removing people from Istanbul for what might be termed administrative reasons, we also need to take a look at those men who were forced to leave the capital as a form of punishment.

Certainly the 'political arsenal' of the Ottoman administration had always included the banishment of certain people to places that the sultan's servants wanted to see settled (*sürgün*), and this measure was sometimes used to penalize usurers.[11] Moreover, it had been standard practice since the sixteenth century, at least, to banish viziers who had been dismissed, sometimes to their estates in Thrace but sometimes also to more remote places like Rhodes or Cyprus. Some of these men ultimately staged a comeback; for others, including Selim III's courtier, the cultured and articulate Ebubekir Ratıb, such banishment was merely a prelude to execution.[12]

Yet it would seem that towards the end of the eighteenth century, it had become a fairly widespread practice to banish people from the subject class who had committed a crime or misdemeanour, such as tricksters who had conned Istanbul residents with more money than sense into believing that they could produce gold from base metal.[13] Such people were often banished to Bursa, and while the city was not too far away from Istanbul, losing the breadwinner often meant that the family was left without resources. According to the Bursa qadi registers, this was the standard reason why the banished men and/or their families petitioned the central administration for a speedy amnesty. We have no figures on the numbers of people thus removed from Istanbul, and therefore do not know whether banishment as a penalty actually reduced the number of Istanbul inhabitants. But if we keep in mind that another common penalty of the time, namely imprisonment in a fortress, also involved removing the culprits from Istanbul, we can assume that the Sultan's administration regarded these penalties as possessing the added advantage of reducing at least temporarily the population of the capital.[14]

When Istanbul's food supply was no longer guaranteed

Securing the food supply, especially wheat and barley, was the second aspect of sultanic policy with respect to Istanbul, and here Salih Aynural, who has extensively used the writings of Selim III, has made a major contribution to our understanding.[15] In the second half of the eighteenth century, it became common for sultans to write fairly long comments on the documents sent to them by the current grand viziers, in place of the brief *hatt-ı hümâyûn*s that had been the norm in earlier periods. As a result we know much more about the opinions of Selim's predecessor Abdülhamid I (r. 1774–89), and also about those of Selim III, than about the ideas of most sixteenth- or seventeenth-century sultans.[16] Apart from the *hatt-ı hümâyûn*s, the diary of Selim III's secretary also has been published, allowing us a glimpse of this ruler's daily practices.[17]

From the excerpts of Selim III's *hatt-ı hümâyûn*s quoted verbatim by Aynural, it does not appear that the sultan had a good grasp of the economic realities of the time.[18] For when commenting on the poor quality of the bread encountered during his frequent incognito outings, the Sultan constantly lamented that in spite of all his orders, no significant improvement was visible. Even the dire punishments meted out to delinquent millers and bakers did not significantly improve the situation. Presumably, apart from the profiteering that – then as now – is never absent from commercial life, objective conditions also were responsible, especially the warfare and the frequent *kırcalı*-bandit attacks on Balkan settlements. Of course millers and bakers in the capital could not influence shortages due to these events, and as they were legally obliged to make bread available, they must have mixed all kinds of foreign matter into their product.

After all, the Ottoman Empire was at war with Russia in 1787–92 and once again in 1806–12; thus, grain ships on the Black Sea were either unable to circulate or even might be captured by the increasingly powerful Russian navy. Furthermore, the capital's grain supplies came largely from Moldavia and Walachia, and these regions were often threatened or occupied by enemy armies. As for Macedonia, which also supplied significant quantities of wheat, at least in 1807 transports must have been interrupted when the Ottomans were briefly at war with Britain and a British flotilla sailed through the Dardanelles, even threatening Istanbul.[19] In addition, predatory attacks of Balkan bandit chiefs like Kara Feyzi, now the subject of a fascinating Chicago dissertation by Tolga Uğur Esmer, must have greatly discouraged cultivation.[20] When they could foresee that the fruits of their labour would probably be plundered, cultivators must have reduced their acreage and held back the grain that they did harvest.[21]

The wars of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, first those that followed the 1792 abolition of the monarchy in France and later the campaigns of Napoleon I-led to a steep rise in grain prices all over the Mediterranean region. Certainly some producers responded to this conjuncture by increasing the acreage cultivated: thus south-western Anatolia, previously a fairly isolated region, began to grow grain that presumably found buyers outside of the region. During those years, the port of Antalya was remarkably active and it is hard to see how the purchase of all manner of trade goods could have been financed without income from the grain trade, for the profitable cultivation of oranges and lemons as yet lay far in the future.[22] As is well known, Greek shippers, at this time still subject to the Ottoman sultans, made their fortunes at least in part by transporting wheat and barley at a time when French shippers had been driven off the

Mediterranean by the British navy.[23] Even in North Africa ship-owners seeking alternatives to their previous corsair activities, which had become increasingly problematic due to the presence of so many men-of-war in the Mediterranean, diversified into the grain trade. While these shippers were banned from Marseilles after the return of peace (1815), it was oil and barilla deliveries from North Africa that permitted the soap factories in southern France to continue operations in spite of the war.[24]

In all likelihood, not only grain from newly established fields was earmarked for export. With the difference between prices obtainable in Istanbul and those prevailing on the international market growing larger and larger, some of the Macedonian grain that normally went to the Ottoman capital must have left the Sultan's domains as well. For given the small size of the latter's navy and the lengthy Mediterranean coastlands of his empire, it must have been all but impossible to catch a large enough number of smugglers to deter people attracted by the large profits from illicit grain trade.

These events were part of the political conjuncture of the times, but closely linked to structural problems as well. After all, the prices paid for grain to be sent to Istanbul were often way under market level.[25] Payment might even be more or less symbolic when the Ottoman state was the purchaser (*mübayaa*). Usually, in the historiography, this situation has been viewed from the perspective of the Ottoman state apparatus or perhaps the Istanbul consumer: by this reasoning, only if the state dominated the market could armies and the Ottoman capital receive adequate supplies of bread and other necessities.

However, the time has surely come to extend Mehmet Genç's argument concerning the detrimental effects of Ottoman war financing from the industrial to the agricultural sector.[26] Genç has shown how in wartime, official demand for low-paid goods prevented a boom in the armaments sector to counterbalance the slump in the realm of civilian goods that is an almost inevitable consequence of large-scale warfare. As a result, when eighteenth-century wars demanded resources far beyond requirements in earlier periods, the result was a long-term downturn in all branches of economic life. Yet in the agricultural sector the producers were subject to state pressure even under peaceful conditions, and it makes sense to assume that under these circumstances investment was so limited that not much of a surplus remained once Ottoman state demand had been fulfilled. Confronted with the stress of war, the agricultural economy of the regions adjacent to the Black Sea had few reserves, and in consequence the quantities of grain available for Istanbul drastically decreased.

European observers of the period often pointed out that the

surroundings of Istanbul, apart from the shores of the Bosporus, were not well cultivated. A contemporary of Selim III, Antoine Olivier thought that agriculture in the European hinterland of Istanbul was so limited that if he had not known that he was near a metropolis, he would have believed himself in the open countryside or perhaps in the vicinity of some isolated little town.[27] Admittedly Olivier made many remarks strongly smacking of orientalism; but on the other hand he had considerable sympathy for the local Muslims – at least as long as he was not confronted with exuberant dervish ceremonies. I would therefore assume that his remarks about uncultivated or poorly cultivated fields do indicate a lack of investment in agriculture. Furthermore, Halil Inalcık indicated many years ago that capital formation was the weak spot of the 'Ottoman economy' – and what had been true in the sixteenth century was even more so in the eighteenth, when the demand for resources had become so much greater.[28]

It is difficult to say which aspects of the food crisis that made life so difficult for the inhabitants of Istanbul were apparent to Selim III and his advisors. Rather than simply state that the Ottoman elite was not much concerned with macro-economic questions, we may assume that Sultan Selim based his almost monomaniacal concern with Istanbul millers and bakers not on economic but rather on political reasoning. Perhaps his orders to punish strictly delinquent bakers had something to do with the fact that many of them – as well as other craftsmen – were affiliated with the janissaries whose corps the Sultan was trying to phase out and replace with his own Nizam-ı cedid units. At the same time, when consumers had trouble finding acceptable bread, their anger presumably targeted mainly millers and bakers: it made sense for Sultan Selim, in his dire need of legitimization, to use the same kind of discourse.

Back to the artisan world: what may have been behind janissary opposition?

Whatever the Sultan's projects, what must have mattered most to the artisans and petty traders of Istanbul was the troublesome fact that they could no longer take their food supply for granted. For Selim III and his advisors, this situation resulted in a major political problem: as an aspect of imperial justice, it had always been an obligation of sultans and viziers to enable the 'poor subjects' to make a living.[29] After all, no taxes could be extracted from the jobless. While the primary sources examined so far do not dwell on this question very much, we must keep in mind that artisans and retailers often enough lived in poverty, and first and foremost worried about their daily

bread.

A brief glance at the works of Ubeydullah Kuşmânî and Ebubekir Efendi, recently published and translated into modern Turkish by Aysel Danacı Yıldız, hopefully will make this point clearer. In her introduction, Yıldız has commented, most appositely to my way of thinking, that historians working on the reign of Selim III have unduly focused on the Nizam-ı cedid as if contemporaries had not had any other concerns to worry about.[30] However, it is noteworthy that even the two authors whose work she has edited basically deal with political events, especially warfare, and they debate at length the personal qualities of Selim's associates and the appositeness – or not – of the Nizam-ı cedid. Even Ebubekir Efendi, a sworn enemy of Selim III and especially the unfortunate Sultan's more or less corrupt entourage, has very little to say on whether or not the small shopkeepers and artisans of Istanbul were able to make a living. It is indeed remarkable that even in these unofficial accounts of the 'vaka-yı Selimiye', or Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion of 1807, which dethroned Sultan Selim, artisans and their guilds remain very much in the background.

Through their study of long-term trends governing real wages on Istanbul construction sites, Süleyman Özmucur and Şevket Pamuk have introduced a novel aspect of the crisis which marked the years around 1800.[31] The data collected and analyzed by Özmucur and Pamuk make it clear that real wages went down in the second half of the eighteenth century, with the worst 'trough' occurring in the 1770s. However, the period of Selim III brought no great improvement. These losses were more dramatic for unqualified labourers than for fully trained masters: this fact is noteworthy, as in the late-sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century the real wages of masters typically had declined more steeply than those of their workmen. We may regard this reversal of fortunes as a harbinger of things to come, for in the nineteenth century, the 'market value' of masters, at least in the long term, once again rose in comparison to the incomes which their subordinates could hope to achieve.

Admittedly we cannot tell to what extent the earnings of specialized artisans and unqualified labourers in the construction sector were typical of the Istanbul craft world as a whole: we cannot automatically assume that all the ups and downs of conjuncture in the building sector corresponded directly to what happened in other sections of the labour market. In wartime, public construction should decline precipitously, apart of course from the construction and repair of arsenals and fortifications. Yet it is worth noting that in spite of almost constant political crisis, the number of public construction projects during the reign of Selim III was not insignificant: apart from

the Selimiye barracks, an enormous structure even by the standards of our time, the Sultan built a mosque complex of substantial size, and his sister a fairly elaborate seaside villa. The refurbishing of the fortifications along the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara must also have provided work for a substantial number of artisans, even if repairs did not suffice to deter the British navy: the arch-enemy of the Selimian establishment, Ebubekir Efendi recorded with some relish that the official who should have made them functional was executed for his lack of effectiveness.[32] We may therefore assume that at least in certain years of Selim's reign, builders and their labourers were able to find employment.

On the basis of the important analysis of Özmucur and Pamuk, I would suggest that the janissaries who rebelled against Selim III were not acting merely out of blind conservatism, but at least in part were struggling to protect their livelihoods. Once the Nizam-ı cedid was firmly in place, janissaries and their aides (*yamak*s) presumably feared to lose the – admittedly minor – privileges that were important for survival in a time of low real wages that showed little sign of improvement. This fear was probably the reason why the *yamak*s were so incensed by the rumour that they were going to be incorporated into the 'New Model' army. Many of the men who initiated the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion may well have eked out a living as labourers, and perhaps they blamed the Nizam-ı cedid for their troubles in making ends meet.

In Ebubekir Efendi's report of the bloody revenge against the deposed sultan's associates, the oppression of the population and the accumulation of treasure on the part of high-level officials were always cited as the reasons for their brutal murders. However, the author emphasized that the Laz *yamak*s before beginning their rebellion had sworn that they would refrain from plunder and molestation of the civilian population – and although janissaries on the rampage so often targeted the local non-Muslims, the *yamak*s explicitly had taken an oath that they would not harm those people either.[33] Furthermore, when landing in Galata the rebels assured the local artisans that they had nothing to fear and should open their shops.[34] If true, this story shows that crafts guilds as organizations were not involved in the Kabakçı Mustafa uprising, although we must assume that some craftsmen participated in the rebellion because they valued their military over their artisan identity.

Revenge, corruption and pride

The savage killings described by Ebubekir Efendi in gruesome detail rather resemble those discussed by Annemarike Stremmelaar in her

recent Leiden dissertation on the 'Edirne event' of 1703.[35] In her analysis, Stremmelaar uses categories developed by historians of crowds in early modern Europe, particularly the 'revenge' motif that dominates the study of William Beik concerning urban crowds in seventeenth-century France.[36] Focusing on four Ottoman chronicles, the author begins by determining which group of people did what to whom and in what sequence. At the second stage of her work Stremmelaar employs this evidence to interpret the crowd actions on which her sources provide evidence.

At a later stage of research it may be of interest to compare the public humiliations and killings of former dignitaries in 1703 or 1730 with those of 1807, which seem to have so greatly elated Ebubekir Efendi. Differently from Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, the latter author viewed the uprising against the Nizam-ı cedid in a very positive light; it is thus somewhat ironical that later generations were to join his work with Kuşmânî's 'sermon', which happened to espouse a diametrically opposed position. One of the reasons for Ebubekir's enthusiasm apparently was the fact that nothing of the kind ever had happened since 1730, and in his lifetime the author did not expect to see anything comparable again.[37] Thus, a contemporary to the events presumably thought that purges of the kind he described should happen every once in a while, and moreover that it made sense to compare the events of 1730 with those of 1806. But though potentially fascinating, such an enterprise is not part of our present project.

At first glance Ebubekir's emphasis on well-deserved punishment meted out to worthless officials seems to contradict my own emphasis on food crisis and low real wages. But perhaps the contradiction is only apparent, for it is at times of crisis and economic difficulties that people will look out for scapegoats; and the corruption of many associates of Selim III and their intrigues against one another made them easy targets. Ebubekir's other major accusation was that of pride: one of his favourite *bête noire*s was called *ekin iti* (dog of the grain field), because dogs traversing a field hold up their heads in order to protect their sensitive noses from being scratched by the drying corn.[38] I would contend that corruption and pride were more difficult to tolerate in an ambiance of scarcity. Corruption seemed intolerable, because corrupt officials misappropriated resources that should have served to conduct war against the 'infidels', or else alleviate the sufferings of the capital's population.

Interestingly Ebubekir seems to have hated the servitors of the high officials, whom he execrated even more than their respective employers.[39] Perhaps a few shreds of legitimacy still clung to the dignitaries and certainly to the person of the Sultan; quite remarkably,

given his scathing tongue, Ebubekir had nothing much to say about Sultan Selim III as a person, but the servitors were 'people of no account' who had changed sides and managed to appropriate a share of the dignitaries' loot. When the situation was so dire, it was especially galling to see people who might be responsible for the catastrophe continuing to hold their heads high, like the proverbial dog in the grain field.

What about movement? An attempted conclusion

A different angle is worthy of consideration as well. When studying Sultan Selim's less than successful military reforms and the uprising that cost him his throne – and ultimately his life as well – we must take account of the different forms of immigration into the Ottoman capital. Some of this migration was 'real' in the sense that there must have been people coming into the city as they had done in the recent past. However, we may imagine that some potential migrants, upon learning of the food scarcities besetting Istanbul, must have given up or at least put off their project of settling in the capital.

In addition, the Sultan, as his published comments have shown, was not a very realistic observer: thus his comments should be taken with more than the usual grain of salt. After all, Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran have pointed out that there is no hard evidence for an increasing population in late-eighteenth-century Istanbul; elite anxiety about'uncontrollable increase' simply reflected the decreasing ability of the Ottoman government to feed the city's population.[40] We may therefore postulate an imaginary immigration in addition to the real one.

However, Sultan Selim's inclination to attribute all the evils plaguing Istanbul to immigration was not in any way a novelty, for even in the early 1700s sultans and viziers had instituted stringent controls upon newcomers. In some cases checkpoints and guardsmen may well have made it more difficult for provincial subjects to exercise their traditional right to petition the monarch; unfortunately we have not as yet found the sources that would allow us to judge whether Ahmed III and his successors lost legitimacy as a result. Young men who wanted to study Islamic law and divinity in Istanbul – and by the eighteenth century this was the only viable road to a career as a judge or college teacher – must also have often struggled to obtain the guarantees that would allow them to enrol in an Istanbul school. As for established residents of the great city, by mid-century we sometimes find them petitioning for permission to return home after a temporary absence, as they needed to provide witnesses to the fact that they had a dwelling in the capital. In some cases this

requirement must have been a real burden: if a resident of Istanbul had been away for a while and found that guards posted on the road demanded witnesses before they would let him or her proceed, the subject at issue might not have easy access to his or her neighbours capable of providing the necessary information. Two documents dated 1742 show the hurdles that an ordinary family might need to overcome after visiting Edirne to take care of inheritance matters: the local imam and the neighbours had to bear witness in front of the qadi, who issued a document known as an *ilam* which then served as the basis for a so-called *yol hükmü* (travel permit) issued by the Sultan's officials. Apart from the trouble involved, presumably fees fell due as well.[41]

Being perhaps better informed of government practices, merchants might procure a properly witnessed document from their qadi before even setting out, but this proceeding also was probably troublesome and costly. Presumably, over time. Ottoman subjects had become accustomed to these difficulties; but it is hard to imagine that they relished them.

Sultan Selim III and his advisors by contrast looked at the matter quite differently. In their perspective the population of Istanbul, with its many janissaries and other militia members, was a source of endless difficulties, due to the supply problem and also because of the likelihood of military rebellions garnering at least passive artisan support. Making movement into Istanbul difficult and expelling all those the government deemed undesirable were the principal means for retaining a measure of control. But on the way to this goal, as Kırlı and Başaran have pointed out, the Sultan and his officials revived and refined the counting procedures upon which the Ottoman government had built its 'early modern centralization' in the sixteenth century, and in so doing initiated the 'statistical state' of the 1800s, whose latter-day avatars are with us to the present day.[42]

CONCLUSION

Movement into the Ottoman capital: some desiderata

In this volume we have looked at different kinds of spatial mobility and, albeit to a lesser extent, at cases of relative immobility as well. In an age without containers, a great many people needed to travel over long or short distances so that limited quantities of goods could move as well. Thus, the textile producers of Bursa or the Tunisian manufacturers of fezzes depended on traders who could bring their products to Istanbul, where, after all, purchasing power tended to accumulate. Certainly recent research has pointed out that other markets were also accessible to provincial producers, as many more direct linkages existed between individual Ottoman provinces than scholars had been willing to credit in the past.[1] As a result, not all commercial traffic necessarily passed through Istanbul, province-to-province commerce being of some importance as well. Yet even so, it remains true that tax farmers remitted large amounts of money to the imperial treasury every year; and this treasury was located in the Ottoman capital, where elite households got to spend at least part of this revenue. In consequence, provincials had to earn back large amounts of current coin or they would not have had the wherewithal for the next round of taxes.[2]

As a result, sizeable numbers of people came to Istanbul from Balkan towns, from Tunis and of course also from provincial cities not treated in this volume. Visitors to the capital arrived with the intention of selling goods but also to submit petitions or find patronage. Those whose travels went more or less smoothly did not leave many traces in the archives, apart perhaps from a *laissez-passer* that allowed them to pass the roadblocks which, in the eighteenth century at least, were supposed to prevent unauthorized entry into Istanbul. Other travellers must have run into trouble because they were unfamiliar with the rules governing public behaviour in the Ottoman capital. Or else, given their lack of experience, they seemed

ready-made victims for the robbers and other criminals who populated Istanbul no less than other large cities of the past and the present.[3] Other visitors to the Ottoman capital must have fallen victim to disease when staying in a crowded business structure, after their resistance to infection had been reduced by the trials and tribulations of land and sea travel. While historians have been studying the movement of people and goods for a long time already, new sources are constantly emerging, and in all likelihood the topic will stay on the scholarly agenda for some time yet.

Moving people and goods out of Istanbul: some further desiderata

To date much less is known about the people who for one reason or another moved out of Istanbul, and regrettably they do not feature in this study either. However, the topic is of some interest, both with respect to the numbers and the social position of the out-migrants. Quite a few people appointed to positions of power in public office, along with their households must have left Istanbul every year: and an office-holder of some prominence normally demonstrated his high status by the number of his followers and dependants. We do not know much about the manner in which such men of lesser status organized their moves, for in all likelihood everybody knew that the office to which a given patron had secured appointment might not remain in his hands for very long. Once the latter had lost his position, the entire household presumably would return to Istanbul, as lobbying for a new appointment was only possible at the seat of government. How did the followers of a man appointed for instance to the office of a provincial qadi handle this situation? Did they leave their families in Istanbul, to reduce travel costs but also to document their bona fides when upon their return they needed to prove their status as permanent residents of Istanbul?

Moreover, the out-migration of prominent men and their households must also have involved a movement of material goods. At least at the higher levels of the Ottoman bureaucracy, appointees must have taken a few luxury items with them, for İznik-ware platters or a dining tray of fine leather embellished with colourful tulip motifs presumably were not easily available in a Hungarian or eastern Anatolian fortress. Probably many an Ottoman office-holder, once arrived at a provincial destination, placed orders for prestige goods in Istanbul to highlight his dignity in the eyes of the local population; but on this matter, we do not seem to have a great deal of evidence.

Certainly the movement not only of people but also of goods in the course of non-commercial journeys is a topic that will repay further

study. In this context the sultans' ambassadors, whose outfits are relatively well documented, will be of special interest, as after all the 'new style' in the study of international relations places special emphasis on cultural contacts. Presumably the accoutrements of Ottoman ambassadors often excited some curiosity in the cities to which these diplomats had been sent, thus encouraging emulation, particularly where textiles were concerned. After all, Mustafa Hattî's comments about Maria Theresa wearing a dress made of Ottoman silk confirm the evidence provided by a picture of the contemporary artist Jean Étienne Liotard, which shows the Empress and one of her daughters in 'Turkish' costume.[4] Moreover, the sultans' envoys often received valuables from the central treasury. Hopefully these items would enable them to 'cut a good figure' at a foreign court; but given the cost of the pieces involved, the ambassadors needed to give them back upon their return to Istanbul, and sometimes they referred to these valuables in their embassy reports.

On the other hand, when deciding what to take, some ambassadors may have made choices of their own which perhaps they paid for out of their own funds. Thus Ebubekir Ratib when travelling to Vienna not only took with him servitors who were qualified musicians, but also Ottoman musical instruments.[5] As yet we know very little about the arrangements that the sultans' envoys made before setting out on their travels; admittedly some of the surviving records only may contain trivia. But with some patience both historians of diplomacy and those working on luxury consumption will find matters of interest in eighteenth-century Ottoman embassy records.

Pilgrimages as reflected in the world of things

Members of the Ottoman elite, but also ordinary subjects of the sultans, went on the pilgrimage to Mecca if they were Muslims, and often brought a few keepsakes or presents back home that friends and relatives might appreciate as mementoes of a long and dangerous journey, from which they had managed to return safely and sound. Some people also brought back pieces of fabric from Mecca, presumably those that they had used as the prescribed clothing during the pilgrimage rites and in which one day they planned to be buried. When studying the estate inventories that are such a basic source for the social history of Ottoman towns, it may be of interest to search for yet more 'traces' of a journey to Mecca.[6] Certificates made out for people who had undertaken the pilgrimage in the name of a third person, who sometimes was already deceased, have attracted interest mainly if one of the personages involved was rich enough to commission an elaborate document. Perhaps the archives of the

Vakıflar İdaresi (Directorate of Pious Foundations) contain records of more modest personages who also returned to their hometowns with such certificates, albeit less elaborate ones.

Presumably when Christians or Jews visited Jerusalem they also brought back goods of spiritual and sometimes of material value, for well-to-do Christians must have ordered the rather luxurious models of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that survive in various museums today. A study of the various 'Jerusalem souvenirs' would be of great interest. Moreover, people not only took back a variety of items, at least well-to-do Armenians of the eighteenth century also carried things into the Holy City, as they had plaques with pious images installed in the St James Monastery of Jerusalem, to commemorate family members and also themselves as the donors.[7] It is worth following up whether the patrons brought such items 'ready-made' from Kütahya, where many faience specialists were Armenian, or whether in Jerusalem local artisans could fill orders of this kind. However, without knowing the sources in Greek, Armenian, Ladino and Hebrew – to say nothing of the social relations often indispensable for access to church or synagogue repositories – it is impossible to go into any detail.

The fates of slaves: involuntary mobility in obscurity

Furthermore, the numerous slaves arriving in the Ottoman lands have attracted but very limited attention, although recent researchers do keep coming up with new sources, so that in the future we will be able to answer at least some of the more pressing questions. Many slaves must have wound up in Istanbul, as especially by the eighteenth century, the ownership of slaves tended to indicate elite status. Matters had been quite different in the 1500s, when after major campaigns the soldiers had so many slaves to sell that servile labour might become accessible even to a better-off villager. The adventures of Gülendam from Samandıra near Üsküdar demonstrate that in the 1520s quite modest personages might come to own a valuable slave woman.

Many enslaved men and women had originally been prisoners of war. The latter included soldiers in the service of the Habsburgs, Venice or later of Russia, who had been captured in battle, but also many peasants together with their families. Most of our evidence is anecdotal but of some interest nevertheless. For the early seventeenth century we have the memoir of Johann Wild, a soldier from Nuremberg who after capture became a slave, must have converted to Islam, even though later on he preferred to gloss over the fact, visited Mecca and was finally manumitted by a military officer whom he had

served in Cairo. In the end Wild made it back home in the suite of a returning ambassador.[8]

After all, Ottoman military men compensated for their scanty pay by ransoms if they had been lucky enough to capture a person whose family was able to pay.[9] If their captives were too poor to find the ransom, these men and women wound up on the slave market; but there were also cases of slaves who seemed so valuable that their owners might retain them as an investment that promised greater profits than either ransom or sale. Instances of the latter kind occurred especially in North Africa, where the demand for carpenters and other artisans skilled in shipbuilding was very high – presumably some owners earned money merely by renting out their human property.

In the present volume we have not specifically dealt with African slaves, but as we have seen, these people occasionally turned up in sixteenth-century Üsküdar although we have no way of knowing how they had arrived there. Some of these men may have been purchased by merchants or officials when the latter spent time in Egypt, where presumably African slaves were more common than in Anatolia. Rich officials may have bought young eunuchs in order to present them to the sultans' palace, hoping to further their careers by a munificent gesture of this kind.[10] Even in rural western Anatolia, in the later sixteenth century there were quite a few African slaves and freedmen, who must have worked the agricultural holdings of some dignitary or other, and who got into trouble when they tried to collect money for a planned festivity, perhaps intimidating those wealthy men who were stingy in their contributions or did not pay up at all.[11]

In addition there were the large numbers of captives from today's Russia and Ukraine captured by Tatar raiders. Exact figures are impossible to come by, but on the basis of Slavic and Ottoman sources Dariusz Kołodziejczyk has suggested that about two million slaves of Slavic ethnicities entered the Ottoman Empire between 1500 and 1700.[12] In the present volume we have only dealt with slaves – typically described as Rus – who already lived in western Anatolia and who entered the judges' records as they passed through the Üsküdar area. Some of these people must have changed hands before arriving in Istanbul, perhaps more than once, especially if they had the reputation of being a 'flight risk'. Yet throughout, the movement of captives into the capital from the north-western borders of the empire is yet another aspect of – involuntary – mobility that we will need to explore more intensively in the future.

Labourers in the naval arsenal to the north of the Golden Horn and rowers on the sultans' galleys were yet another kind of slave entering Istanbul that the present work has not discussed. Here the memoirs of a former captive who managed to obtain his freedom and return home

are of special interest, as Michael Heberer of Bretten, in Istanbul during the 1580s, was an archivist by avocation and in his book included numerous documents relevant to his adventures.[13] From this source we learn that in winter the arsenal did not feed its rowers, or at least the food assignments did not suffice for survival. As a result the galley slaves found odd jobs in the city, a practice which the guards tolerated or even promoted: for they could demand a share of the captives' earnings, and moreover they probably needed to maintain the men in reasonably good health so they would be available for the campaigns of the coming summer. At least for the eighteenth century, archival sources on galley slaves are available as well, and one such register has found a publisher.[14]

Migrants who remain (almost) completely undocumented

Elite figures, merchants and even slaves often have left some kind of paper trail, but it bears keeping in mind that among migrants into Istanbul these people were probably a minority. As we have seen, at present almost nothing is known about the many servitors and clients who accompanied a qadi or a provincial administrator to the town where he was to officiate and, if they were lucky, eventually returned with their master to the capital. After all, there must have been elite figures who entered or left Istanbul without a record remaining: merchants who never got into disputes with customs officials or muleteers, or especially certain fugitive slaves, who must have managed to hide in the relative anonymity of Istanbul, perhaps as porters or servants to some merchant or other. For in all probability there existed in Istanbul some kind of 'underground' of escaped slaves, insolvent debtors and others who might provide information about possible employment to a newcomer, even if other people from this milieu might just as well denounce a fugitive to the authorities for a fee – as we have seen, such slave hunters were not rare in early-sixteenth-century Üsküdar.[15] Among the immigrants who remained all but undocumented, peasants who had fled their villages probably made up the largest contingent: at least before the 1770s or thereabouts, those who had found a niche in Istanbul society perhaps as itinerant fruit-or yoghurt-sellers might get married, pay their taxes and die without ever attracting the attention of the authorities.

To conclude

How can we make sense of these movements? In my view the first step involves viewing the behaviour of migrants, especially those who

went to Istanbul, in a political and thereby historical perspective. In the late 1400s, and probably the early 1500s as well, sultans and viziers were concerned about repopulating Istanbul and making it into the commercial hub whose traffic would finance impressive palaces and pious foundations.[16] But already by the later sixteenth century the Ottoman authorities had begun to worry that the city was becoming overcrowded, that agriculture suffered when peasants left the land, and that the revenues of elite figures dwindled because the villages that they administered had largely become defunct. As the mercenary rebellions of the years around 1600 were accompanied – and perhaps partly occasioned – by droughts and poor harvests, villagers must have been especially tempted to seek refuge from the tax collector by fleeing to Istanbul.

Thus Murad IV (r. 1623–40), in his attempt to 're-impose order' – even at the price of the lives and welfare of many of his subjects – began a long series of systematic attempts to remove from Istanbul those people whom the authorities considered 'surplus'.[17] By the 1700s this concern seems to have dominated official policy, at least where the capital was concerned, with a special focus on young single men who might be students in theological colleges but also porters or servants working for artisans or merchants. We may suspect, though proof continues to elude us, that by the early eighteenth century the Ottoman authorities drafted young men, particularly Albanians, to work on remote building projects, at least in part so as to remove them from Istanbul. Matters became even more difficult with the Russo–Ottoman war of 1768–74, when many of the major battles took place in the Balkan territories that until that time had largely supplied Istanbul. Thus the authorities came to regard the control of the movements of the sultans' subjects not merely as a problem of public order, but as a pre-condition for political survival.

As Betül Başaran and Cengiz Kırlı have shown, by the late 1700s Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) and his advisors went one step further. Certainly, ridding Istanbul of 'undesirables' was still a potent motive, but at the same time and as a novel governmental practice, making the population of the capital 'visible' and 'recognizable' to the eyes of the authorities had become an aim in and of itself.[18] Only if we keep this political framework in mind, can we hope to make sense of the mobility at least of non-elite figures, and, albeit to a lesser extent, that of Ottoman elites as well.

Dramatis Personae

Abdi, Seyyid, messenger (*çavuş*) to the Sultan, and mohair trader with connections to Ankara: fl. in the later 1500s.

Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi (d.1821), Ottoman ambassador to Paris 1806–11, from 1817 director of the government printing office.

Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), after 1718 focused on repairing the damages left by decades of warfare (1683–99, 1715–18); he thus had fortresses built/repaired to enhance security on routes and borders, while establishing new pious foundations and refurbishing older ones. However, he did involve the Ottoman Empire in the wars resulting from the fall of the Safavids, and his lack of success in this undertaking – and also his failure to balance the various factions within the ruling elite and the army – led to his fall and that of his grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa, accused of immorality and waste.

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1823–95), legal and religious scholar, principal author of the Mecelle law code adopted piecemeal from 1869 onwards and author of one of the most influential histories of the Ottoman Empire: the *Tarih-i Cevdet* covers the period from 1774–1826.

Ahmed Dürri Efendi from Van had received a literary education in Persian and authored a divan. Sent as an ambassador to the court of Shah Sultan Husayn (1720–21), he produced an account of his Iranian travels including a visit to Teheran, as yet a small town.

Ahmed Paşa, Humbaracı (1675–1747) was born the Marquis de Bonneval, who served first the French king and later the Habsburg emperor. He ultimately fled to the Ottoman Empire, became a Muslim and was active as a commander of bombardiers.

Ahmed Resmî Efendi's (1700–83) first embassy visit was to Vienna (1757–8), followed by an embassy to Prussia (1763), on which he wrote extensive reports. In 1771 he headed the Ottoman delegation negotiating the peace of Küçük Kaynarca (1774), detrimental to Ottoman interest but unavoidable given Russian victories. His impressions on this thankless assignment became the starting point for a well-known book printed as *Hulâsatü'l-itibâr*.

Alqas Mîrzâ (1516–50), the son of Shah Ismâ'îl I, revolted against his half-brother Tahmâsp, fleeing to the Crimea and from there to

Ottoman territory when the rebellion failed (1547). Süleyman the Magnificent began a campaign against Iran, hoping to make use of the adherents of the exiled prince. But when the latter was unable to deliver upon his promises, the Ottomans induced him to return to Iran, where he was killed.

Aziz Efendi from Crete was the author of successful prose tales published long after his death as *Muhayyelât* ('imaginary tales', printed in 1852); he began to officiate as Ottoman ambassador to Berlin in 1797, where he died in 1798.

Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de (1522–92) was a diplomat in the service of the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand I, who sent him to the Ottoman Empire in 1554, where he remained until 1562. His Anatolian travels included a visit to Süleyman's court in Amasya. Upon his return to Vienna he resumed his European diplomatic career, introducing the fashion for tulips. After his return he wrote up his Ottoman travels in four letters in humanist Latin, which have been many times reprinted and translated into foreign languages.

Charles XII (r. 1697–1718), king of Sweden, spent several years in self-imposed exile on Ottoman territory.

Ebubekir Ratib (1750–99) was sent by Selim III as ambassador to Vienna to collect information potentially helpful for the latter's projected military reforms. Apart from a broadly based compendium of the information collected, Ebubekir Ratib also produced a short but instructive account of his diplomatic experiences. Appointed *reisülküttab*, or chief of the chancery concerned with foreign affairs, upon his return, he held his place for but a short time. Before long, Sultan Selim had him banished and then executed.

Evliya Çelebi (1611 to post-1683), the son of a palace goldsmith, grew up as a page to Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–40). From his home in Istanbul he travelled to the Crimea, Western Iran, Vienna, Egypt and East Africa, recording his experiences in a ten-volume travelogue. Though unable to realize his ambition of finding the source of the Nile, together with his collaborators he authored a map of the area traversed and which has recently been published.

Gritti, Alvise (d. 1534) was a son of the Venetian *bailo* and later doge Andrea Gritti from an unofficial co-habitation with a non-Muslim woman of Istanbul. As in Venice his illegitimacy would have precluded any political career for himself and his descendants, he preferred to rely on Ottoman support for his advancement, especially that of the grand vizier Makbul ve Maktul İbrahim Paşa (d. 1536). However, when Gritti, claiming to be viceroy of Hungary, appeared in Transylvania without any significant Ottoman force, he was soon murdered by local noblemen.

Gülendam (fl. in the mid-1500s), freedwoman from Kandıra near

Üsküdar

Gülşan (fl. in the mid-1500s) was a slave woman living in/around Üsküdar and formerly owned by Davud, deceased at the time of the court case that gave rise to the only record of the family's existence. She was the mother of Fatma, as yet a child.

Heberer, Michael (about 1560–after 1623), of the village of Bretten, was captured when the galley where he worked as a secretary to a knight of Malta came to grief on the coast of North Africa. As he was part of the one fifth of the booty claimed by the sultan, he did time as a slave rowing Ottoman galleys. In Istanbul during the 1580s he recorded some of the numerous survival strategies devised by galley slaves. Liberated by the intervention of the French ambassador, Heberer was an archivist by vocation and in his book included numerous documents relevant to his adventures.

Humâyûn (r. 1530–43 and 1554–6), son of Babur and second Moghul emperor of India, was driven out and exiled to Iran. With Safavid support, he managed to regain his father's throne but only after conversion to Shiism. A sizeable number of Iranian artists followed him to secure patronage in India.

İbrahim Müteferrika (b. between 1670 and 1674, d. in 1745) was of Transylvanian background, perhaps a Unitarian, whose life in the principality would have become all but impossible after the Habsburg annexation of 1699. After relocation to Ottoman territory and conversion to Islam, he wrote on possible military, political and cultural reforms, including the printing of non-religious works in Ottoman Turkish. In this latter enterprise he had support from the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa; but because the demand for non-religious works was quite limited, the press was not commercially viable and closed down after İbrahim Müteferrika's death.

İbrahim Paşa (Damad, Grand Vizier to Ahmed III ca. 1662–1730) was born in the central Anatolian village of Muşkara, where he established a sumptuous pious foundation, thus re-founding this rural settlement as the town of Nevşehir. His Istanbul foundation also attracted attention, especially because of the colonnaded and shop-lined street (Direklerarası) that provided revenue to the vizier's charities. His enemies accused him of debauchery and he was murdered under particularly distressing circumstances during the Patrona rebellion of 1730, in which his royal patron lost his throne.

İsmail Abu Taqiyya (fl. between 1580 and 1624) was a wealthy merchant originally from Homs/Syria but based in Cairo. With the aid of different partners, often from outside his family, he traded with Venice as well as with India, focusing on the Red Sea trade. Avoiding direct involvement in the Ottoman administration of

Egypt, he became active in several construction projects including a mosque in al-Azbakiyya.

Kâmrân (d. 1557), a son of the emperor Babur, after several rebellions was blinded by his half-brother Humâyûn (r. 1530–43 and 1554–6). He then retired to Mecca, by this time on Ottoman territory.

Kâtib Çelebi (1609–57) was an Ottoman scholar, active as a major bibliographer but also as a geographer and author of a chronicle; in the latter he included much biographical information. He was especially expert in matters of seamanship and navigation, on which he wrote a separate treatise. His best-known work is the *Cihân-numâ*, a discussion of Eurasian geography he did not live to finish. However, his friends edited his work after his death and İbrahim Müteferrika printed this work as one of his major ventures.

Mahmud I (r. 1730–54), after doing away with the rebel 'king-makers' who had placed him on the throne, focused much of his energy on the Habsburg and Iranian wars (Belgrade regained in 1740). Another major achievement was the foundation of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which was however completed only after his death. His successor Osman III (r. 1754–7) managed to expunge the name of his predecessor and insert his own, albeit through an indirect reference to the 'light' (*nur*) of the Ottoman dynasty.

Mahmud II (r. 1808–39) came to the throne as the last surviving member of the Ottoman dynasty. During the first decades of his reign he managed to weaken greatly the major magnate families that had 'carved up' Anatolia. It was this stabilization and re-centralization that enabled him in 1826 to abolish the janissaries, albeit with a great deal of bloodshed, and replace them with a new military corps. However, after 1821 the uprising in southern Greece was a major drain on Ottoman energies, especially since the leaders were able to secure European support; as a result the kingdom of Greece was founded in 1832. In 1828–9 the Ottomans lost a major war against Russia. During the 1830s the major domestic opponent was Mehmed Ali/Muhammad Ali Paşa of Egypt, whose armies at one point reached the town of Kütahya in western Anatolia. It was the need for 'Great Power' support against Muhammad Ali that induced the sultan to sign the Baltalimanı treaty (1838), which abolished domestic monopolies and provided great advantages for British traders importing European goods and exporting Ottoman-produced raw materials.

Mehmed b Hacı Süleyman was an eighteenth-century *kethüda* of the Tunisian fez-sellers active in Istanbul. Having converted his office into a tax farm, he became most unpopular among his fellow guildsmen, who accused him of 'raw greed'.

Mehmed Ağa, also known as Mimar Mehmed Ağa, was one of the

former students of Mimar/Koca Sinan. After training in music and marquetry in the Sultan's palace, he was a military officer in the Arab provinces before embarking on his career as an architect. His major project before the Istanbul complex of Sultan Ahmed I ('The Blue Mosque') was the (short-term) restoration of the Ka'ba through the attachment of a system of girders. His associate Cafer has left a short laudatory biography of the architect.

Mehmed Ağa/Paşa, Kara, had served as an officer in the corps of palace gardeners (*bostancı*) before his 1665 embassy to the Habsburg court. In his brief amabassadorial report he placed special emphasis on the Viennese fortifications. He later became a vizier and governor and was killed in the Ottoman–Habsburg war of 1683–99.

Mehmed Atâ'ullah, Şânîzâde, was a medical man who introduced European-style anatomy to the Ottoman world; doctor to the palace, official and influential historiographer (late 1760s or 1771–1826).

Mehmed Efendi, Yirmisekiz (c.1670–1732) son of a court official and father to another ambassador, was a janissary officer, head of the Sultan's cannon-foundry and also an Islamic legal scholar before heading an embassy to France in 1720. He authored an influential memoir describing his visit.

Mehmed Ragıb, as *reis efendi* head of the Ottoman chancery (1699–1763) and Grand Vizier from 1756 to his death, apart from his political career distinguished himself as a poet, a translator of medieval Persian histories into Ottoman and as an author of official letters and other pieces of writing. His library became a pious foundation and continues to exist, although for many years it has been inaccessible due to restoration.

Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740–1807), born in Istanbul as Ignatius Muradcan Tosunyan, was a Catholic Armenian diplomat who later was elevated into the Swedish nobility, when he chose the surname d'Ohsson. At one time he was the Swedish ambassador to the Ottoman court, but became a persona non grata because of his close connections to revolutionary France. He was the author of a well-known seven-volume work *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris, 1788–1824).

Mustafâ 'Âlî (1541–1600) was an Ottoman office-holder, historian and literary figure. While his dissatisfaction with his official appointments coloured much of his writing, his reputation as a historian has stood high, from the 1600s to the present day. Mustafa 'Âlî also wrote a travelogue on Cairo and various books on festivities and etiquette. His account of an Ottoman campaign in Iran was illustrated by order of the Sultan, the author receiving a stipend in return for supervision of the miniaturists.

Mustafa Hattî (b. around 1680 d. 1757 or 1761) was ambassador to Vienna in 1748. He had begun his official career as a scribe to the Governer of Rakka and also served the poet Nâbî. Later he was a leading member of the commission that in 1741 re-established the Ottoman–Russian border. He also gained a reputation as a poet.

Mustafa Naima (about 1655–1716) was a historian originally from Aleppo. He is considered the first 'official imperial chronicler', an office that continued to the very end of the sultans' reign. Using the 'stage theory' of empires as proposed by Ibn Khaldûn, Naima suggested that the Ottoman Empire had passed its prime. However, the author was confident that by prudent political measures the sultans' administrators would be able to defer the end for a long time yet

Nuʿmân Efendi, Ebu Sehil (b. about 1700 d. after 1755) was educated in Diyarbekir, where he had planned to pursue his scholarly career. But when in Istanbul to further his application he was offered the position of consultant in religious law (*mufti*) in the short-lived Ottoman conquest of Tabriz; this event began a sequence of 'troubleshooting' appointments which Nuʿmân Efendi has described in lively and outspoken works. His last known position was that of qadi in Manisa.

Olivier, Antoine (1756–1814), a medical doctor, had been sent to the Middle East by the newly founded French Republic. After a lengthy visit to Istanbul (1794) he continued to Iran (1796) and also visited Egypt; he later published his botanical finds.

Osman, Şehdi (d. 1769) had visited St Petersburg in the suite of his predecessor Mehmed Emni Paşa (1740) before heading an embassy to the court of the Tsarina Elizabeth (1757). After his return he was for a while supervisor of the Sultan's gunpowder works and his last office was that of finance director to the army fighting on the Bender front.

Piri b Seyyid Ahmed, Hacı, around 1544 was sent by Süleyman the Magnificent on a pilgrimage to Mecca in the name of his son Prince Mehmed, deceased in 1543.

Rákóczi, Ferenc II, exiled prince of Transylvania (1676–1735), lived out his life in Rodoscuk/Tekirdağ on the shores of the Sea of Marmara, where his house is still extant.

Salih b Ahmed, Hacı (d. 1787), wealthy linen-draper of Bursa.

Schweigger, Salomon (1551–1622) graduated from the University of Tübingen/Württemberg and visited the Ottoman Empire between 1577 and 1581, when he was a Protestant preacher to the Habsburg ambassador Joachim Freiherr von Sintzendorff (at this period the Habsburg ambassadors were not yet of necessity Catholics). Apart from Istanbul the author also visited Egypt, Syria and especially

Jerusalem, although Protestants do not attach any religious merit to pilgrimages. Perhaps because of the detailed descriptions included, Schweigger's work enjoyed numerous reprints throughout the seventeenth century. The writer ended his life as a pastor in a major church of Nuremberg.

Selim III, (Sultan, b. 1761, r. 1789–1807, murdered in 1808), apart from his political role has been known for his competence in Ottoman musical composition. While still a prince he had been allowed to form attachments outside the palace, building a circle of young adherents who hoped to make careers in his service once he was on the throne. Thus from an early age the prince was aware of the poor performance of Ottoman armies in the field and once upon the throne formed a new corps (*nizâm-î cedid*) that was to rival and ultimately replace the janissaries. However, he was unable to defeat the opponents of his project, who had him dethroned in 1807 in the so-called Kabakçı rebellion. He was murdered when it seemed that a counter-coup might replace him on the throne.

Sestini, Domenico (1750–1832), Florentine traveller and travel author, who spent several years in the Ottoman Empire and wrote about viticulture and horticulture in the vicinity of Istanbul but also about visits to Anatolian towns including less accessible places like Sivas. He was remarkable for discussing matters that other writers rarely touched upon, including a visit to a healing spring (*kaplıca*) and a tour of the Bursa shops.

Seyfi visited Paris in the mid-1600s and wrote – in Turkish – to the Signoria of Venice; perhaps he was an unofficial envoy or else a spy.

Seyfullah Ağa was ambassador to Vienna in 1711. No further information about his life is extant although there is ample information about the embassy itself.

Sinan, Mimar (b.1489 to 1491, d. 1588) arrived in Istanbul as a draftee for the janissary corps, where he trained in ship- and bridge-building. After his return to Istanbul from campaigns in Europe and Eastern Anatolia he practised as an architect, and from 1537 as head of the Sultan's construction projects, receiving commissions for the Şehzade and Süleymaniye complexes in Istanbul and later for the Selimiye complex in Edirne. Several semi-autobiographic texts survive, one of them authored by Sinan's friend Sâî Mustafa.

Sinan Paşa (d. 1596) originated from Albania and started out as a court official, later becoming a governor of Egypt. After ferocious rivalry with Lala Mustafa Paşa, in which he emerged as the victor, he was placed in charge of suppressing a major revolt in Yemen; his admirers thereupon styled him the 'conqueror of Yemen'. In 1574 he re-conquered Tunis for the Ottoman Empire and after a Persian campaign became Grand Vizier for the first time (1580). Four other

terms were to follow; Sinan Paşa was in his fifth term of office when he died in the middle of the Long War.

Süleyman Efendi, Şem'dânîzâde, fl. in the second half of the eighteenth century and authored a chronicle in which he was critical of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). However, he disapproved of the violent crowd action (*kalabalık*), by which Charles XII king of Sweden had been forced to leave Bender, criticizing the use of violence against a guest.

Zapolya, John (1487–1540) was elected king of Hungary with Ottoman support in 1526 and duly crowned with the crown of St Stephen, but was under constant pressure from the Habsburgs. A major defeat forced him to take refuge in Poland, from where he asked for and received the support of Süleyman the Magnificent. Ottoman backing gained John Zapolya a large part of the kingdom of Hungary, which he continued to rule until his death in 1540.

Zülfikâr Paşa, Ottoman ambassador to Vienna, had been sent to Vienna officially to announce the advent of the new Sultan Süleyman II (r. 1687–91); unofficially his brief was probably to find a means of ending the war. However, the Habsburg side showed no interest and did not even permit the ambassador to return home. The latter thus spent some four years on imperial territory at times almost like a prisoner, an experience he has relayed in his report.

Glossary

Abacıs : traders in rough woollen fabrics
Abaza : people living on the north-eastern shores of the Black Sea. In the 1600s they formed an influential group among palace servitors
Acem *tüccarı* : merchants from Iran, usually Armenians
acemioğlan/gilmân-ı acemiyân : candidate janissary
amele : workman
amil : sixteenth-century term for a low-level local administrator, in charge of collecting taxes or serving a pious foundation
arab : in Ottoman Turkish this term was used for Black people but also for Arabs
Arafat : near Mecca, site where the pilgrims assemble as a central part of the pilgrimage ritual
arakiyye : headgear, used in the seventeenth century
arasta : shop-lined street
ases : guard or policeman, in the service of an officeholder
askeri : members of the Ottoman state apparatus both military and civilian
astar : lining (perhaps denoting underwear as well)
bac : market tax
bedestan : covered market
beledi : an everyday fabric, usually of cotton
beng ü bade : sherbet containing 'hemp and wine' with an admixture of honey, supposedly available in seventeenth-century Cairo
beygircis : drivers renting out horses
bezzaz : linen draper
Bitpazari : flea market; however, the locale near Istanbul's Grand Bazaar called by that name had, by the eighteenth century, been taken over by 'regular' textile traders
bogası : coarse cotton material suitable for linings
börk : headgear, in use during the seventeenth century
bostaniyan : corps of the sultan's gardeners, also active as policemen
boza : millet beer
bozahane : workshop/shop for the manufacture/sale of millet beer
Bulaq : suburb of Cairo and in the 1600s home to a thriving shipyard
cabi : servant of a pious foundation usually in charge of revenue

collection
cariyeler : slave women and girls
çaşnigirbaşı : chief taster to the sultan
Celali uprisings : military rebellions which shook Anatolia during the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first years of the seventeenth century
celeb : a sheep drover
çengi : a dancing-girl
chéchia : woollen bonnet, often red, manufactured in Tunis and by the eighteenth century widely sold in Istanbul, probably similar to the fez worn in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries
cizye : head-tax payable by non-Muslims
compagnie : here: Istanbul-based association of Tunisian bonnet-makers with correspondents in Tunis, that controlled the distribution of fezzes throughout the Ottoman lands
çörekçis : bakers of sweet rolls
çuha : woollens of a certain quality often imported from Venice, England or France
cüllah : a weaver
defterdar : a high-ranking financial officer, a finance director
destgâh : here: large boards used by tailors as workspaces
devşirme : draft/levy of mostly Christian boys to serve the sultan as janissaries and exceptionally as pages and future administrators
dimicis : manufacturers/sellers of a rough cotton fabric known as *dimi*
Direklerarasi or Between the columns : a shop-lined street providing revenue to the pious foundation of Damad İbrahim Paşa; in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, favoured venue for theatres and public entertainments
Divanyolu : major Istanbul street connecting the Ayasofya and Sultan Ahmed mosque with today's Aksaray
ecanib (sing. *ecnebi*): outsiders, to a corps of soldiers or to a craft/trade
Elçi Hanı : a large structure located close to the Grand Bazaar and now destroyed, which in the sixteenth century housed Habsburg embassies. As a typical *han*, it opened onto an interior courtyard
elektor (or *elektör* according to the French pronunciation): Ottoman term for the secular and ecclesiastical princes who elected the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
emin steward : a man entrusted with the collection of revenues, paid a salary by the persons/institutions that were the ultimate beneficiaries of the relevant income source
emred : adolescent boy
esnaf : artisans, guildsmen
esrâr ma'cûnu : opium paste
eyalet : Ottoman term for 'province', which Ahmed Resmî also used for

the Duchy of Saxony

fahrülekran : 'the pride of his fellows', an honorific

falaka : a beating intended as a punishment. Only the qadi should have administered it, although guild wardens sometimes usurped this privilege

fez *:* this headgear came in different types and qualities: *haremî* fezzes for children and *zenne* intended for women. There was a quality known as *orta* (medium), while inferior types were known as *battal* and *battal-battal* (here: useless, worthless). Another variety known as *sarık* must have been designed specifically to hold a turban in place

fişekçi : manufacturer of fireworks

fondaco : Italian term for a structure used for a combination of commercial and residential purposes throughout the Mediterranean world. The Ottoman equivalent is *han*

Frengistan : non-specific term for Western Europe

futa : silken wraps

Gabela on the Neretva : settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the sixteenth century an Ottoman possession

gedik : the quality of being a permanent tenant in a piece of real estate used for purposes of business, but also : the right to exercise a certain trade in a pre-determined locale; Engin Akarlı has suggested the definition 'a bundle of rights and obligations'

gümrük : customs duties

gümrük emini : customs official

haci : a Muslim who has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca; by extension a Christian who has visited Jerusalem

hallaç : cleaner of raw cotton

hamam : bath-house

han : business structure or khan, containing shops and workshops, frequently the property of a pious foundation

haracgüzâr : tribute-paying subject, often used for princes subject to the Ottoman sultan though autonomous in internal affairs

harcırah : travel expenses

harçlık : here probably : spending money

hass : sultanic crown-lands

hatt-ı hümâyûn : hand-written commentary by the Sultan on the basis of a suggestion by a vizier or other high dignitary, the basis for an edict

hayyâl üstâdlar : masters of fleeting illusions/shadow plays, especially renowned in Cairo

helvacıs : halva manufacturers, also permitted to sell baklava

hemşehrilik : bonds forged among fellow provincials in the Ottoman capital

hüccet : document issued by a qadi or religious scholar to provide a valid record of a transaction
icmal : abridged tax register (used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries)
ihrâm : cottons suitable for the wear of Mecca pilgrims
illik : here: probably a provincial, or a locally recruited servitor in the household of a powerful man
iplikçis : yarn merchants
isim ve resimleriyle : formula meaning 'by their names and appearances.' This formula enjoined servitors of the sultan to identify a given person or persons as a preliminary to punishment
iskele (Italian *scala*) : landing place
Kâbe fincanı : coffee cups coming from the Ka'ba, presumably of Chinese manufacture
kadife : velvet
kandilciyan : petty entrepreneurs who took care of Cairo's public illuminations Kapalıçarşı : the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul
kapan : public weighing scales; the fees paid by users often formed an important revenue item
kapudan kethüdası : a naval officer active in Cairo
kasaba : a small town
kayıkçıs : boatmen ferrying people across the Bosporus and Golden Horn. To facilitate controls; already in the early-sixteenth century boats were 'registered' to a given landing stage
kaza : district, part of a sub-province or *sancak*
*kefil : (*pl. *küfela)* guarantors for the good behaviour of others. The *kefil* either promises to pay the debts that the person for whom he stands surety has not defrayed or else guarantees that he will bring the relevant person to court when required
kemha : a heavy silk textile or brocade
kemha gülistani : a lighter quality of the same textile
keşif defteri : document prepared before a building project was begun; it described the enterprise in detail and contained an estimate of costs
kethüda : a term that can designate different kinds of representatives; here mostly : guild warden
kırcalıs : eighteeth-century Balkan bandits
kızıl elma : (red apple) as yet unconquered city that according to certain authors should – and would – ultimately form part of the Sultan's territory
kullar : ambiguous term which may denote 'servitors' but also 'real' slaves
kumkuma : water vessel
kuşak : sash

kutnı : a relatively cheap fabric made by mixing silk and cotton; dyed in dark colours, in the sixteenth century this fabric was considered suitable for the skirts of non-Muslim women
kutnı : varieties of: *elvan* (coloured?), *göz* (with an eye-shaped design?), flowered and white
lağımcı : digger of sewers and/or mine shafts for explosives
levend : irregular soldier or sailor
lonca : a space where guildsmen met and discussed grievances. Ultimately this term, originally designating a building, became the Turkish world for 'guild' while crowding out the older term *hirfet*
Mağribî : a person from North Africa
mahalle : urban quarter
mahkeme : courthouse, which usually encompassed the residence of the judge. Presumably the famous qadi registers were kept in these buildings
mahmals : palanquins transported on camels' backs, sent from Damascus and Cairo to symbolize the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan
mancınık : silk-reeling and twisting equipment, in Bursa often owned by women Marranos : baptized Jews of Iberian background, a term often used in a derogatory sense
*meddah*s : storytellers often plying their trade in coffee-houses
medrese : theological college
'*mi faccio Turco*' : (Italian : I will become a Muslim), expression of annoyance/frustration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This was a convincing threat because speakers and listeners alike knew that such a move could in fact be attractive
mimar başı : chief builder, in charge of the Sultan's construction sites
Minā/Munā : market town near Mecca, where pilgrims relaxed after the pilgrimage
miri : here: the Sultan's treasury
Moriscos or *Cristianos nuevos* : people originally from Ibero-Muslim families, who had converted to Christianity, often under duress
mübayaa : official purchase of grain on behalf of the Ottoman state, often against payment that was all but symbolic
müdarabe : commercial partnership in which an investor provided the money and the travelling merchant only his labour
müdd : a measure of grain, variable according to the locality
müdebber : a slave who has been promised manumission at the owner's death, see: *tedbir müddet-i örfiyye* : the period within which the owner of an escaped and recaptured slave could reclaim his/her property, normally ninety days
Mühimme defterleri : general registers of the Sultan's chancery, registers of important affairs

muhtesib : market supervisor/superintendent
muhtesib alayı : parade of the market supervisor, especially elaborate in seventeenth-century Cairo
müjdegâne : standard fee payable to the man who has captured an escaped slave or piece of livestock
müjde-i abd-ı abik : as above, but referring to slaves only
mükateb : slave under contract whose period of slavery ended once he/she had fulfilled his/her side of the agreement
mükâtebe : the relevant agreement
mültezim : revenue farmer
musavvir : in Evliya's parlance people who carried large pictures with them and put them up for inspection wherever there was a gathering of people, especially in Cairo's coffee-houses
muslihun : mediators in a dispute who induce the two sides to settle out of court (*sulh*)
mutemed : often used for senior artisans with supervisory roles on offficial construction sites
mütevelli : administrator of pious foundations
muvaza'a : a fake or fraudulent transaction
nafaka : here: a standard sum of money assigned by the qadi's court for the upkeep of orphaned children, women abandoned by their husbands, escaped slaves awaiting return to their masters and others in similar positions
nakkaş : painter/designer
narh : administratively decreed price
nefs : a term meaning 'town' in fifteenth and sixteenth-century tax registers
nizâm/nizâmnâme : here: guild regulations
Nizam-ı cedid : new-style troops instituted by Selim III as a prelude to phasing out the janissaries
odalar : 'rooms', a term also often used for barracks
ortakçı : sharecropper
oturakçı : here: sellers of miscellaneous second-hand goods
pasaporta (Italian) : *laissez-passer*
penbe fermanı : ('Cotton ferman') regulating the importation of raw cotton into Istanbul. The texts linked to this matter all are dated to 1038/1628–9; however, this is probably a scribal error for 1138/1725–6
pencik : originally the one-fifth share of all booty collected by the Sultan; later the tax payable upon the importation of a slave
reisülküttâb : head of the grand vizier's chancery, by the late eighteenth century he was in the process of becoming responsible for 'foreign affairs'
renegati : recently converted Muslims resident in Algiers, Tunis and

Tripoli, often of Italian or Iberian backgrounds

revani : syrup-soaked sponge cake

Rumeli meydanı : Ottoman Turkish mispronunciation of Rumayla square in Cairo

sancak : sub-province, normally part of an *eyalet/vilayet*. Ahmed Resmî also used this term for the Palatinate

sarık : turban, perhaps sold 'already wrapped and *prêt à porter*' in eighteenth-century Bursa 'Sarmatian clothing style' : invented by wealthy Polish noblemen who in the seventeenth century adapted Ottoman models; for this purpose they commonly purchased rich silk fabrics

saz : a stringed instrument important in Ottoman music

Şehnamecis : men of Persian-speaking backgrounds whose duty it was to extol the heroic deeds of late-sixteenth-century Ottoman sultans in works modelled on early Iranian epics

şem'hane : workshop for the manufacture of fat or grease

Senj : town in Croatia, called Segna in Italian and Seng in Ottoman Turkish, in the sixteenth century an Uskok stronghold

sensal : (Venetian term) equivalent Ottoman Turkish*: simsar*: broker

sermimaran-ı hassa : Chief Architect; by the eighteenth century this office-holder had more administrative than design responsibilities

sicil : here: qadi registers

Signoria : Italian term meaning 'lordship', here used for the Venetian governmental bodies silk, raw, varieties of : *paybürek, harir-i şehri, pot*

sipahi : holder of an imperial tax grant or *timar*

sof : mohair and mohair fabrics

subaşı : police officer or chief of police

sürgün : people banished to places that the Sultan's servants wanted to see settled

takye : headgear, in use in the seventeenth century

tamga : (stamp) tax often levied upon textiles

tarihi yarımada : 'the historical peninsula', present-day term for Istanbul within the Byzantine walls

taze bıyık : 'recently emerged mustache', a term used for adolescents

tazir : punishment decreed by the qadi, in many cases probably a beating

tedbir : binding promise on the part of a slave owner to set free his/her slave at his/her death. However, the heirs could challenge this promise, claiming that the value of the slave was more than one third of the total inheritance; for nobody was allowed to dispose of more than one third of his/her property by will

torbacıs : or 'sack-men' : apparently salesmen who sold fezzes without possessing a regular shop and who were under the authority of the

shopkeepers

tuğra : highly decorated and standardized monogram of the ruling sultan placed at the top of his edicts; this item authenicated sultanic commands

ulema : (sing. *alim*) scholars of Islamic law and divinity

ümm-i veled : a slave woman who had given birth to her master's child. Provided the master had recognized his paternity the woman could no longer be sold and was entitled to automatic manumission at the owner's death – at least if the heirs chose to abide by the law.

Uskoks : sixteenth and early seventeenth century border warriors loosely controlled by the Habsburgs, and infamous pirates

Vaka-yi Selimiye : or Kabakçi Mustafa rebellion of 1807, which dethroned Sultan Selim III

vakfiyye : document establishing a pious foundation (*vakıf*)

vakiyye/vukkiye/okka : corresponds to 1.28 kg

vale : a light silk fabric

vasi : a person in charge of administering the inheritances of orphans

Vasvar, peace of : between Habsburgs and Ottomans (1665) : Evliya Çelebi was part of the Ottoman delegation to Vienna

voyvoda : here: revenue farmer

voyvodas : (of Moldavia/Boğdan and Walachia/Eflak) Ottoman term for native princes paying tribute to the Sultan

Yagkapani Street : busy street in Galata, halfway between the Galata and Unkapani Bridges; the Galata covered market was located here

yamaks : here: adjunct janissaries, garrisons of the eighteenth-century Bosporus fortresses; their mutiny began the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion of 1807

yasakçı : guard or policeman, in the service of an officeholder

yavacı or *yaveci* : men who had farmed the due known as *müjde-i abd-ı abik* or *müjdegâne (quem vide)*. Often on the basis of scant evidence these men were more than ready to arrest supposed slaves and demand payment from the putative owners

yaymacıs : people who spread (*yayınmak*) goods on the ground for sale, probably equivalent to today's *işportacıs*

yemeni : can denote a type of shoe, but in this context refers to a simple fabric, probably of cotton Yeni odalar : one of the janissary barracks in downtown Istanbul

yiğitbaşı-ı taife-i keresteci : assistant head of the guild of timber-sellers

yol hükmü : travel permit, *laissez-passer*

Zemzem, Well of : in the Great Mosque of Mecca, to which special blessings have been attributed

Notes

Introduction

1. Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü (1691–1696); Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Derbend Teşkilatı; Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik ve Ulaşım üzerine Araştırmalar*.
2. Boğaç Ergene, 'Costs of Court Usage in the Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia';'Evidence in Ottoman Courts: Oral and Written Documentation in Early-Modern Courts of Islamic Law'. pp. 471–92.
3. On the basis of the growing ice caps of Arctic Canada and Iceland, Gifford Miller and his team have proposed that the first spate of climatic deterioration in the late thirteenth century was 'followed by a substantial intensification 1430–55 AD. Intervals of sudden ice growth coincide[d] with two of the most volcanically perturbed half centuries of the past millennium': http://www.agu.org/pubs/crossref/pip/2011GL050168.shtml (accessed 2012, link no longer functional).

   See Gifford H. Miller et al., 'Abrupt onset of the Little Ice Age triggered by volcanism and sustained by sea-ice/ocean feedbacks'. For the Ottoman context compare Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire.*
4. Halil Inalcik, 'The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Firearms in the Middle East', 'Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700'. *pp.* 283–337.
5. Xavier de Planhol, *De la Plaine Pamphylienne aux Lacs Pisidiens: Nomadisme et Vie Paysanne,* reflects the situation in south-western Anatolia in the late 1940s, when farmers and nomads still shared uphill summer pastures.
6. Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600.*
7. Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *Venezia porta d'Oriente*.
8. Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj, Piracy, Banditry and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*; İdris

Bostan, *Adriyatik'te Korsanlık: Osmanlılar, Uskoklar, Venedikliler, 1575–1620*.

9. Ennio Concina, *Fondaci, Architettura, Arte e Mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*, treats this phenomenon in a broader context, with a strong emphasis on architecture; the *Fondaco dei turchi* receives special attention.
10. Traian Stoianovich, 'The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant', pp. 234–313.
11. Katarina Papakostantinou, 'The Pondikas merchant family from Thessaloniki, ca. 1750–1800', pp. 133–50.
12. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Herrscher über Mekka. Die Geschichte der Pilgerfahrt,* pp. 59–60.
13. Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The world of Evliya Çelebi*.
14. Nuran Tezcan and Robert Dankoff, *Evliyâ Çelebi'nin Nil Haritası: Dürr-i bî-misil-i ahbâr-ı Nîl*.
15. Gülay Yılmaz, 'The economic and social roles of janissaries in a seventeenth century Ottoman city', has been one of the first scholars to investigate the fates of such recruits before their incorporation into the janissary corps.
16. Şenol Çelik, 'Türk Fethi sonrasında Kıbrıs Adasına Yönelik İskân Çalışmaları'. vol. 1, pp. 263–304.
17. [Ca'fer Efendi], *Risāle-i mi'māriyye, an early-seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise on architecture*.
18. Howard Crane, Esra Akın and Gülru Necipoğlu, eds., *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five sixteenth-century texts*, pp. 115–16.
19. André Raymond, *Artisans et Commerçants au Caire, au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973–4), vol. 2, pp. 727–34.
20. For an example compare Evliya Çelebi *Evliya Çelebi*, vol. 2, p. 209, referring to the town of Köprü (today Vezirköprü).
21. Ibid.
22. Any lord has a claim to the honours [due to his position].
23. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1, p. 9.
24. Münir Aktepe, 'Dürri Ahmed Efendi'nin İran Sefareti', I; Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Der osmanische Blick nach Osten: Dürrî Ahmed Efendi über den Zerfall des Safawidenreichs 1720–21', pp. 375–98.
25. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Lezzetli Yiyecekler ve Onlari Elde Etmenin Yolu: Osmanli Toplumunda Ozel-Ama Saraya Ait Olmayan

Yiyecekler ve Jqecekler', pp. 77–89

26. Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pasqual, *Ultime Voyage pour la Mecque*.

27. Yvonne Seng, 'Fugitives and factotums: slaves in early sixteenth-century İstanbul', pp. 136–69; 'A liminal state: slavery in sixteenth century Istanbul', pp. 24–43.

28. Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force in early nineteenth-century Istanbul', pp. 125–40; Betül Başaran, 'The 1829 census and Istanbul's population during the late 18th and early 19th centuries', pp. 53–72.

29. Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, Ebubekir Efendi, *Asiler ve Gaziler: Kabakçı Mustafa Risalesi,* ed. by Aysel Danacı Yıldız (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2007).

Chapter 1 What an Ottoman ambassador might find out in Vienna

1. Jean Nouzille, *Histoire des Frontières, L' Autriche et l'Empire Ottoman*.

2. Though concerned with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to the present author, the following volume has been inspirational: Eckart Conze, Ulrich Lappenküper und Guido Müller eds, *Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen: Erneuerung und Erweiterung einer historischen Disziplin*.

3. John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna;* Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent;*

   Stoye's work is still commercially available. In the Preface of the German edition of his monograph, Thomas M. Barker has indicated that his book would have benefited from a stronger focus on the relations between the different actors. Thus the author visibly is interested in the 'new-style' history of international relations (p. 11). But even in this instance, the author refers almost exclusively to 'Austria in the baroque period' (p. 12).

4. In a lecture the historian Bernard Lewis (b. 1916) once recounted an experience of his while a student in London: he occasioned his professor's profound amazement and incomprehension when he suggested that Ottoman documents might be of interest to the historian of the 'Oriental question'.

   The following publications use Ottoman sources to an appreciable extent, or even focus on this kind of material: Géza Dávid, *Studies in Demographic and Administrative History of Ottoman Hungary*; Markus Köhbach, *Die Eroberung von Fülek*

durch die Osmanen 1554; Gábor Agoston, 'Ottoman warfare in Europe 1453–1826', pp. 118–44 and 262–3; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, eds, *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe* and *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders;* Gábor Agoston, *Guns for the Sultan*; Markus Koller, *Eine Gesellschaft im Wandel*. Most recently, in the summer of 2012, Güneş Işıksel has defended a doctoral thesis on the diplomacy of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–75): 'La politique étrangère dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle: le cas du règne de Selim II (1566–1574)' this work bids fair to become a major study of Ottoman assumptions concerning early modern 'foreign policy'. Güneş Işıksel has also informed me that David do Paço has recently defended a thesis on Ottoman merchants in Vienna. I am grateful for this information; however, the thesis is not yet available for consultation.

5. Ottoman correspondence with the Doge of Venice, preserved in the Venetian state archives, reflects this situation very well.

6. Semavi Eyice, 'Elçi Hanı', pp. 93–130.

7. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Legationis turcicae epistolae quatuor*. While Busbecq has been frequently translated, I prefer this edition because it contains a good index.

8. On images compare: Lambert de Vos, *Das Kostümbuch von Lambert de Vos*. Several late-sixteenth-century Habsburg embassies have produced reports that have been published: Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch der von zween Röm. Kaysern an die ottomanische Pforte abgefertigten Gesandschaft*, Salomon Schweigger, *Eine Newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* and *Zum Hofe des türkischen Sultans*.

   Both reports have been translated into Turkish; and the Turkish translation of Gerlach's diary is easier to access than the German original, which has not been edited or reprinted: *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573–1576*.

9. Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 52; Fatih Yeşil, 'Looking at the French Revolution through Ottoman eyes', pp. 283–304; this article includes an extensive bibliography. Most recently the author has produced a major monograph on this late-eighteenth-century ambassador to Vienna: *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi (1750–1799)*.

10. Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni*, Alberto Boralevi, 'Western Anatolian village rugs and Ottoman silk textiles', pp. 103–11.

11. [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels,* pp. 255–63.
12. Songül Çolak, ed., *Viyana'da Osmanlı Diplomasisi*, Mustafa Güler ed., *Zülfikâr Paşa'nın Viyana Sefâreti ve Esâreti*.
13. Following the suggestions of Christoph Neumann and Wolfgang Reinhard, I use the expression 'Latinate Europe' when referring to the Catholic and Protestant polities of this continent. As the present study concerns the eighteenth century this expression seems preferable to the more current term of 'Latin Christianity'.

    Ottoman names and terms have been spelt according to the conventions of modern Turkish.
14. Özlem Kumrular, *Avrupa'da Türk Düşmanlığının Kökeni*; Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Materielle Kultur und – zuweilen – gesellschaftliche Werte', pp. 81–103. The most recent contribution is: Seyfi Kenan, ed., *Osmanlılar ve Avrupa: Seyahat Karşılaşma ve Etkileşim*.
15. Mustafa Hattî, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 1–11.
16. [Ebû Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi], *Molla und Diplomat,* p. 118.
17. Kemal Beydilli and İsmail E. Erünsal, 'Prut Savaşı Öncesi Diplomatik Bir Teşebbüs Seyfullah Ağa'nın Viyana Elçiliği (1711) (142 sayfa belge ile birlikte)'. The manuscript of Seyfullah Ağa's report, which the authors include as a facsimile and also in transcription, is in the private library of İsmail E. Erünsal.
18. Mustafa Hattî, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 53–77.
19. Şem'dânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Şem'dânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi Mür'i't-tevârih*, vol. I, p. 140.
20. Faik Reşat Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnâmeleri.*
21. [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*.
22. Çolak, *Viyana'da Osmanlı Diplomasisi*; Güler, *Zülfikâr Paşa'nın Viyana Sefâreti ve Esâreti*.
23. Nuʿmân Efendi, *Molla und Diplomat*; Ebû Sehl Nuʿmân Efendi, *Tedbîrât-i Pesendîde (Beğenilmiş Tedbirler)*, pp. 54–142; Mustafa Hattî, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*.
24. [Ahmet Resmî], *Ahmet Resmî Efendi'nin Viyana ve Berlin Sefaretnâmeleri*, translated into modern Turkish by Bedriye Atsız (Istanbul: Tercüman Yayınları, 1980). The original version is available as an insert into the chronicle of Vasıf, *Tarih-i Vasıf,* published in Istanbul in 1219/1804. As I have not had access to this rather rare publication, I have used the translation by Bedriye Atsız. A new edition would be highly desirable.

For a biography compare: Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace, Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700–1783*.

25. [Ebubekir Ratib], *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*. Compare also: Carter Findley, 'Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy narrative', pp. 41–80; Yeşil, 'Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's Observations' and *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi*.
26. Paolo Preto, *I Servizi Secreti di Venezia, Spionaggio e Controspionaggio al Tempo della Serenissima: Cifrari, Intercettazioni, Delazioni, Tra Mito e Realtà*.
27. Güler, ed., *Zülfikâr Paşa'nın Viyana Sefâreti*, pp. 21–2.
28. Ibid., p. 143. The pasha also has mentioned the siege of a fortress that the two editors of his work have read as'Yuna'. While I am not totally sure, I would suggest the reading 'Bona/ Bonn'. After all, it is not possible to distinguish between 'o' and 'u' in the Arabic script. Moreover, when written in cursive script, 'b' and'y' are easily confused. An army of Louis XIV did in fact suffer a minor defeat near this town (10 October 1689).
29. Ibid., p. 143.
30. It was perhaps because of this report that the chronicler Şem'dânîzâde specifically warned against using the mediation of 'unbelievers' when negotiating a peace treaty: Şem'dânîzâde, *Mür'i't-tevârih*, p. 102.
31. Beydilli and Erünsal, 'Seyfullah Ağa'nın Viyana Elçiliği'.
32. Ibid., pp. 1–3.
33. For an overview over the political events of the period see Heinz Duchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie*.
34. Beydilli and Erünsal, 'Seyfullah Ağa'nın Viyana Elçiliği', p. 23.
35. Ibid., p. 24.
36. Ibid., pp. 9, 25.
37. Ibid., p. 30.
38. Nuʿmân Efendi, *Tedbîrât-i Pesendîde*, pp. 4–5.
39. Nuʿmân Efendi, *Molla und Diplomat,* p. 114.
40. Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte*, pp. 123–9.
41. Nuʿmân Efendi, *Molla und Diplomat,* pp. 121–3.
42. Ibid., p. 156.
43. Mustafa Hattî, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, pp. 17–19.
44. Ibid., p. 41.

45. Ibid., p. 42.
46. Ibid., p. 24.
47. Ibid., p. 52.
48. On Ottoman diplomatic gifts compare Hedda Reindl Kiel, 'East is East and West is West', vol. 2, pp. 113–25.
49. Mustafa Hattî, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*, p. 40.
50. Ibid., pp. 39–40.
51. Mehmet Genç, 'Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş'.
52. Virginia Aksan, 'Ottoman Sources on Europe in the eighteenth century', pp. 5–16; 'Ottoman Political Writing, 1768–1808', pp. 53–69; *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*.
53. *Ahmet Resmi Sefaretnâmeleri*, p. 30.
54. Ibid. p. 36.
55. On the impact of Ibn Khaldun upon political thinking in the Ottoman world compare: Cornell H. Fleischer, 'Royal authority, dynastic cyclism and "Ibn Khaldunism" in sixteenth-century Ottoman letters', pp. 198–220.
56. *Ahmet Resmî Sefaretnâmeleri*, pp. 28–34.
57. Ibid. p. 30.
58. Lewis V. Thomas, *A Study of Naima*.
59. Ebubekir Ratib, *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, p. 14.
60. Findley, 'Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy'.
61. Ebubekir Ratib, *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, p. 69; Yeşil, 'Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's Observations'.
62. Yeşil, 'Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's Observations', pp. 290–91.
63. Ibid., p. 299.
64. Ebubekir Ratib, *Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*, pp. 64–6.
65. In this context it would be of interest to follow up the claim of the literary historian Peter Demetz (Yale University): *Prague in Black and Gold, Scenes from the Life of a European City*, p. 246. According to Demetz, the Sultan reacted to an attempt of Maria Theresa to drive the Jews out of Prague with a letter of admonition, in which he focused on the obligations of a ruler towards his loyal subjects.
66. Yeşil, 'Ebubekir Ratib Efendi's Observations', p. 290.

Chapter 2 Material culture in Latinate Europe

1. For an edition of the text see: Mehmed Efendi, *Le paradis des*

infidèles; for an analysis: Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West*.

2. Gümeç Karamuk, *Ahmet Azmi Efendis Gesandtschaftsbericht als Zeugnis des osmanischen Machtverfalls und der beginnenden Reformära unter Selim III;* Moralı Seyyid Alî Efendi and Seyyid Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, *Deux Ottomans à Paris sous le Directoire et l'Empire, Relations d'Ambassade;* Mustafa Hattî Efendi, *Viyana Sefâretnâmesi*.
3. With some interruptions *Tarih Vesikaları* appeared from 1941 to 1949.
4. [Şehdî Osman], 'Şehdî Osman Efendi Sefaretnamesi'; [Nahifi Mehmed Efendi], *Mubadele – An Ottoman–Russian Exchange of Ambassadors;* Mehmed Emnî, *Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi (Paşa)'nın Rusya Sefâreti ve Sefâret-nâmesi*.
5. [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*. This edition includes the report of the ambassador Mehmed Paşa as well. On the role of Vienna as the *kızıl elma* see: Pál Fodor, 'Ungarn und Wien in der osmanischen Eroberungsideologie', pp. 45–70, see pp. 58–9.
6. Edward Said, *Orientalism;* Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*.
7. Stéphane Yérasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman,* and the introductions by the same author to seventeenth-century French travel accounts: Jean Thévenot, *Voyage du Levant*.
8. Linda Colley, *Captives*; Gerald Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*.
9. İbrahim Şirin, *Osmanlı İmgelerinde Avrupa*.
10. Ibid., p. 18–26, referring to: Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. On the good reputation of his earlier work compare Erik Jan Zürcher, 'The rise and fall of "Modern" Turkey', pp. 41–54.
11. I owe this information to Hasan Umut, who after writing a fine MA thesis on the teaching of logarithms in Istanbul during the late 1700s is now pursuing a doctorate at Mc Gill University in Montreal, Canada: 'İsmail Gelenbevi at the Engineering School'.
12. Şânî-zâde Mehmed 'Atâ'ullah Efendi, *Şânî-zâde Târîhi*; Christoph Neumann, *Das indirekte Argument*.
13. Şirin, *Avrupa*, pp. 356–7.
14. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *Legationis turcicae epistolae quatuor,* pp. 102–03.
15. Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West*.

16. ‘The Age of Tulips: confluence and conflict in early modern consumer culture’, edited by Donald Quataert, pp. 83–106.
17. Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit.*
18. William Roosen, ‘Early modern diplomatic ceremonial: a systems approach’, pp. 452–76.
19. Karamuk, *Ahmet Azmi*, pp. 126–7.
20. Faik Reşat Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnâmeleri,* p. 44.
21. [Evliya Çelebi], *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, pp. 232–3.
22. Ibid., pp. 208–9.
23. Ibid., pp. 240–41.
24. [Ebû Sehil Nuʿmân Efendi], *Molla und Diplomat*; Ebû Sehl Nuʿmân efendi, *Tedbîrât-i Pesendîde (Beğenilmiş Tedbirler)*, pp. 54–142.
25. Prokosch is of the opinion that the instruments were not kept secret, but the maps the Austrian commission had prepared with their aid were in fact restricted: *Molla und Diplomat*, p. 215.
26. Ibid., pp. 185–6.
27. Mehmed Efendi, *Le Paradis des Infidèles*; Göçek, *East Encounters West*; of interest also is the exhibition catalogue *Topkapı à Versailles, Trésors de la Cour Ottomane* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux und AFAA, 1999), pp. 316–34. For a recent overview of this controversy see Shirine Hamadeh, *The City’s Pleasures*, pp. 226–9. Current interpretations rather favour Iranian models.
28. Suraiya Faroqhi, ‘An Ottoman ambassador in Iran’, pp. 165–87.
29. Virginia Aksan, ‘Ottoman sources on Europe in the eighteenth century’, *Archivum* pp. 5–16.
30. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Türkler ve İdil boyu.*
31. Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen,* pp. 290–304.
32. Christoph Neumann, ‘The Russian experience: Necati Efendi in captivity’, unpublished manuscript; I thank the author for sharing his work with me.
33. For a recent discussion see Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.
34. Neumann, ‘The Russian experience’.
35. [Şehdî Osman], ‘*Şehdî Osman Efendi Sefaretnamesi*’.
36. Ibid. part 1, p. 76.

37. The Museum of Weaponry in Tula, which goes back to an order of Peter I to collect old guns (1724) is open to visitors: for photographs compare 'Around the World' http://www.canaryzoo.com/World%20-%20Tula.htm (accessed on 13 August 2012).
38. 'Şehdi Osman Efendi Sefaretnamesi', part 5, p. 391.
39. Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*, pp. 204–6.
40. *Ahmet Resmi Efendi'nin Sefaretnâmeleri*, pp. 48–51.
41. Ibid., pp. 56–9.
42. In the same context Ahmed Azmi was sent to Berlin, see note 2.
43. Carter Findley, 'Ebu Bekir Ratib's Vienna Embassy narrative', pp. 41–80. A shorter version of Ebubekir's work has been edited: [Ebubekir Ratib], *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*. Sema Arıkan's dissertation on this subject has never been published; but now the principal reference is Fatih Yeşil, *Aydınlanma Çağında Bir Osmanlı Katibi Ebubekir Ratib Efendi*.
44. Kemal Beydilli, 'Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohsson (Muradcan Tosunyan)', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 34 (1984) pp. 247–314, discusses the promotion of this personage to Swedish ambassador, his involvement with the French ambassador sent by the revolutionary government and his ultimate disgrace and exile in France.
45. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New*, pp. 371–2.
46. *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Sefaretnamesi*, pp. 92–3.
47. Ibid., pp. 60–2.
48. Ibid., pp. 78–9.
49. Alî Efendi and Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, *Deux Ottomans*.
50. Hatice Aynur, 'Ottoman Literature', pp. 481–520, see pp. 519–20.
51. Alî Efendi and Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, *Deux Ottomans*, pp. 51–6. On pp. 44–62 the editor Stéphane Yérasimos has provided a good account of Abdürrahim Efendi's concerns.
52. Alî Efendi and Abdürrahim Muhibb Efendi, *Deux Ottomans*, p. 170.
53. Ibid., pp. 196–200.
54. Ibid., pp. 209–210.
55. Ibid., pp. 220–3.

56. Ibid., pp. 227.
57. Tülay Artan, 'Arts and architecture', pp. 408–80, see p. 454.

Chapter 3 'Seeking Refuge in the Sultan's Shadow'

1. Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations, Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*; Minna Rozen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul*.
2. Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le Problème Morisque*.
3. Kerstin S. Jobst, 'Vision und regime', pp. 211–27.
4. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos,* pp. 17–35.
5. Ibid., pp. 225–46; on Moriscos transiting through Venetian territories, see Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *In Nome del Gran Signore,* pp. 176–8.
6. This is the conclusion I would draw from the documents analyzed in Temimi, *Le Gouvernement Ottoman et le Problème Morisque*, although the author himself makes much of the solidarity expressed therein.
7. Peter Bartl, *Der Westbalkan zwischen spanischer Monarchie und Osmanischem Reich*.
8. Dominguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos,* pp. 240–1.
9. Lucette Valensi, 'Islam et capitalisme', pp. 376–400.
10. Soumaya Louhichi, *Das Verhältnis zwischen der osmanischen Zentralgewalt und der Provinz Tunesien*.
11. Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 154–9.
12. Ibid., pp. 155–7.
13. Lucia Rostagno, *Mi faccio Turco*; Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*; Paolo Preto, *I Servizi Secreti di Venezia*; Giovanni Ricci, *Ossessione Turca in una Retrovia Cristiana dell' Europa Moderna*, pp. 77–94.
14. T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, pp. 86, 118, 200ff., has provided a very suggestive account of how bishops were made in Italy during the early 1500s.
15. Ariel Salzmann, *Vita e avventure di un rinegato*.
16. Anita Gonzalez Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant,* pp. 108–17; Ariel Salzmann, 'A Travelogue Manqué?.'

17. Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, 'Safiye's household and Venetian diplomacy', pp. 9–32.
18. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual,* pp. 201–13.
19. 'Ibrâhîm Müteferrika' by Niyazi Berkes, pp. 996–98.
20. For a discussion of the religious and quasi-religious beliefs of Tommaso Campanella, and of his supposed contacts to the Ottoman world, see Lucetta Scaraffia, *Rinnegati,* p. 138ff.
21. Naim Rahman Farooqi, 'Mughal–Ottoman Relations', pp. 187, 228.
22. 'Kâmrân' by H. Beveridge, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edn, vol. IV, p. 523.
23. Farooqi, 'Mughal–Ottoman Relations', p. 217.
24. Abû 'l-Fadl, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl*, translated by Henry Beveridge, pp. 571–3.
25. Farooqi, 'Mughal–Ottoman relations', pp. 218 and 243.
26. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, pp. 386–9.
27. Nor do we know what the Ottoman central administration thought of the attempts of the Meccan Şerifs to pose as sovereign rulers when corresponding with the Moghul court.
28. On the political aims of Shah Tahmâsp see Şerafettin Turan, *Kanuni'nin Oğlu Şehzade Bayezid Vak'ası*, pp. 143–57.
29. 'Alqas Mîrzâ' by Cornell Fleischer, pp. 907–9.
30. Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, ed., *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, p. 73.
31. Alan Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, pp. 58–93.
32. Alan Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea*, p. 151.
33. Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace,* pp. 120, 160–1, 171, 174.
34. Heinrich Kretschmayr, 'Ludovico Gritti, eine Monographie', pp. 3–85; Ferenc Szaká-ly, *Ludovico Gritti in Hungary*; Gizella Nemeth Papo and Adriano Papo, *Ludovico Gritti*. I am grateful to Géza Dávid and Maria Pia Pedani Fabris: without their help I would not have been able to find the latter two publications.
35. Gábor Barta, 'Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen', pp. 243–51.
36. Kemal Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen, passim*; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman–Polish Diplomatic Relations*, p. 123.

Given the dubious reliability of Zapolya as an Ottoman ally, it is not easy to explain why the Sultan preferred to maintain

Transylvania as an independent principality while transforming central Hungary into a regular border province. As a hypothesis one might suggest that the direct administration of all of Hungary appeared as far too expensive. After all, the various border provinces on Hungarian territory were given only a skeleton administrative structure, presumably for financial reasons.

In addition Transylvania was a country in which five different varieties of Christianity were represented, and the Ottoman authorities probably knew very well that the non-Catholic nobles and townsmen of Transylvania would resist a Habsburg occupation. If in fact they made such an assumption, it turned out to be correct in the long run, for the attempt of the officials serving Rudolf II to enforce the Counter-Reformation in Transylvania during the Long War (1593–1606) was a complete failure; compare Meinolf Arens, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen*.

37. Béla Köpeczi, 'II. Ferenc Rákóczi', pp. 18–37; Barta, 'Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen', pp. 372–5.
38. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, 'Rákóczi Ferenc II., ve Osmanlı Devleti Himayesinde Macar', pp. 1–17, see p. 4, views him as a refugee who was grateful for the asylum given to him. Barta, 'Die Anfänge des Fürstentums und erste Krisen', p. 374, says that the Ottomans did not permit Thököly to return to Hungary.
39. Kelemen Mikes, *Briefe aus der Türkei*.
40. Gökbilgin, 'Rákóczi Ferenc II'. Unfortunately this article contains no footnotes and little other documentation, so that tracking down the materials cited will not be an easy job.
41. Akdes Nimet Kurat, *İsveç Kıralı XII.*
42. Kurat, *İsveç Kıralı*, pp. 642–3.
43. Heinz Duchhardt, *Balance of Power und Pentarchie,* p. 248.
44. Kurat, *İsveç Kıralı*, pp. 645–6.
45. Ibid., p. 643.
46. Jean Nouzille, 'Bonneval Pacha', pp. 148–70.
47. John Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, passim.*
48. Preto, *I Servizi Secreti*, pp. 332, 352–3.
49. Abdülkadir Özcan, 'Humbaracı Ahmed Paşa', pp. 351–53.
50. Rozen, Minna *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul*.

Chapter 4 Evliya Çelebi's tales of Cairo's guildsmen

1. For the most recent contribution see Fariba Zarinebaf, 'The world turned upside down, Evliya Çelebi and the Festival of 1638', forthcoming in *Festivities and Performances in the Ottoman Empire* edited by Arzu Öztürkmen and the present author.
2. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la Seconde Moitié du Dix-septième Siècle, Essai d'Histoire Institutionelle, Économique et Sociale* (Istanbul, Paris: Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul and Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), pp. 349–425, is largely based on his account. In his classic study André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire,* also has made extensive use of the data provided by Evliya.
3. Evliya Çelebi, p. 15.
4. Evliya Çelebi, vols 1 and 10; for artisans see vol. 10, pp. 191–206.
   The section on Cairo has been translated into German by Erich Prokosch.
5. If true, this statement of the author's – not substantiated to date by any official records – means that Derviş Mehemmed Zılli must have fathered Evliya rather late in life.
6. The most encompassing biography is: Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality*.
7. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, pp. 192–207.
8. Ibid., pp. 200, 205; on Cairo carpets compare Sumiyo Okumura, *The Influence of Turkic Culture on Mamluk Carpets* (Istanbul: IRSICA, 2007).
9. Ahmed Refik [Altınay] *Onuncu Asr-ı hicrîde Istanbul Hayatı*, p. 133.
10. For a discussion of this data see Raymond, *Artisans et Commerçants au Caire*, vol. 1, pp. 203–41. However, Raymond only had access to the unsatisfactory 1938 edition of Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10.
11. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 191.
12. The chief kadıasker was in fact known as a *kadıcasker*; the title *şeyhülislam* probably referred to the chief juris-consults (*müftis*).
13. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 203.
14. Charles Wilkins, *Forging urban solidarities*.
15. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, pp. 193, 203.
16. Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları, Zahire Ticareti*, pp. 91, 105.
17. Judith Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-century Egypt*, p. 85.

18. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 201.
19. See also ibid., p. 194.
20. Ibid., pp. 201, 206.
21. Ibid., p. 199.
22. In recent years the'Rumi identity' has become a subject of study, compare Tülay Artan, 'Questions of Ottoman identity and architectural history', in *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, ed. by Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut and Belgin Turan Özkaya (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 85–110, and Salih Özbaran, *Bir Osmanlı Kimliği: 14–17. Yüzyıllarda Rum Rumi Aidiyet ve İmgeleri* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004).
23. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 205.
24. Ibid., pp. 205–6.
25. Ibid., pp. 206–7.
26. Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam.*
27. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 205.
28. Ibid., p. 196.
29. Marianna Yerasimos, *Evliya Çelebi*, p. 396.
30. Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force in early nineteenth-century Istanbul', pp. 125–40.
31. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1, pp. 276 and 327.
32. Ibid., p. 193.
33. Evliya Çelebi, p. 18.
34. On performances using such imagery compare Tülay Artan, 'Art and architecture', p. 428.
35. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, pp. 193, 206.
36. Ibid., p. 197.
37. Ibid., p. 204; Marinos Sariyannis, 'Prostitution in Ottoman Istanbul', pp. 37–66.
38. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 9, p. 417; see also Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 44.
39. In İstanbul too, taxes were paid by various non-respectable guilds: compare Zarinebaf, 'The World Turned Upside Down'.
40. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 206.
41. Ibid., p. 205.
42. Private communication on the part of of Nicholas Michel, for which I am much obliged.
43. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 202; Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Fireworks in

seventeenth-century Istanbul', forthcoming in a volume edited by Evelyn Birge Vitz and Arzu Öztürkmen.

Chapter 5 Ottoman travellers in Venice

1. Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, 'Turkish raids in Friuli', pp. 287–91.
2. Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic*, pp. 416–17; Domenico Sella, 'Crisis and transformation in Venetian trade', pp. 88–105.
3. Benjamin Arbel, 'Operating Trading Networks in Times of War', pp. 23–34.
4. Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations,* pp. 65–6.
5. Ennio Concina, *Fondaci, Architettura, Arte e Mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna* pp. 219–49. The Iranian Shiite merchants absolutely refused to live in the same building with Sunni Ottomans and when the Venetians insisted, they stopped coming to Venice altogether.
6. As a result: Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *In Nome del Gran Signore,* is based largely on materials extant in the Venetian archives.
7. Ibid., pp. 53–4.
8. Ibid., pp. 52.
9. Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*; the author has tried to fill in the 'blanks' with the aid of 'historically informed imagination' – always a difficult enterprise.
10. Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj.* The little town is called Senj in Slavic languages, Segna in Italian and Seng in Ottoman Turkish. As the latter language has adopted the Persian word *seng* for 'rock', for Ottoman ears the place had a name that graphically described the site.
11. Pedani Fabris, 'The Ottoman Empire and the Gulf of Venice', pp. 585–600.
12. Antonio Fabris, 'Un caso di pirateria veneziana', pp. 92–111.
13. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Ottoman Views on corsairs and piracy in the Adriatic', pp. 357–70.
14. These texts can be found in the following archival catalogue: Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *I 'Documenti Turchi' dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*.
15. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Bosnian merchants in the Adriatic', in *Ottoman Bosnia, A History in Peril* – this publication has also

appeared as *The International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, nos 1–2, edited by Markus Koller and Kemal Karpat (Madison WI: Center of Turkish Studies, 2004), pp. 225–39.

16. On these mediators see Cemal Kafadar, 'A death in Venice (1575)', pp. 191–218.

17. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Documenti Turchi No. 880. In the present context the term 'Hvace' is an expression of respect for successful merchants; by the late 1500s, Çelebi was also a title of respect, but without indicating a specific walk of life or official position. It usually denoted educated gentlemen.

    This text is full of spelling mistakes: some but not all due to the fact that the author tends to spell phonetically. The little town of Ayaş near Ankara appears as 'Ayas'. Admittedly there is a settlement called Ayas in the vicinity of Adana, which in the Middle Ages was a famed commercial centre, named Laiazzo in Italian sources. But by the 1500s this place was of no importance; therefore, and because of the association with Sivrihisar, I read this name as 'Ayaş'.

18. Archivio di Stato, Venedig, Documenti Turchi No. 963; see also Faroqhi, 'Ottoman Views on Corsairs', pp. 362–3; Pedani Fabris, *I Documenti Turchi*, pp. 268–76. For further information on this *çavuş* see Fabris, Pedani ed., *Inventory of the* Lettere e Scritture Turchesche *in the Venetian State Archives*, pp. 9–10.

19. Özer Ergenç, '1600–1615 Yılları Arasında Ankara İktisadi Tarihine Ait Araştırmalar' pp. 86–97.

20. This name can also be read as 'the son of Karagöz the priest'; in this case the man's personal name remains unknown. 'Karagöz', meaning 'black-eyed' in Turkish, in the sixteenth century was a common name among Anatolian Christians. 'Arslan' means 'lion' in Turkish and was quite popular among Karamanlı males, and so was 'Aydın', meaning 'bright or light' in the same language.

21. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Documenti Turchi No. 960.

22. Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire,* p. 289.

23. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Die Osmanen und die Handelswege der Adria', pp. 373–8.

24. Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'E□poque de Philippe II,* vol. 2, p. 413.

25. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Documenti Turchi No. 231. Recently Vera Costantini has begun a new study of this question: compare her oral presentation 'Alternative paths towards the

age of mercantilism'.

26. Renzo Paci, *La 'Scala' di Spalato e il Commercio Veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento*, p. 52–70.
27. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Documenti Turchi No. 1218.
28. Ibid., No. 2000; this text has been edited, translated into English and commented by Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, 'A Seventeenth-Century Muslim Traveller in Paris', pp. 227–36. I am grateful to the author for directing me to this publication.
29. Pedani Fabris, *I 'Documenti Turchi'*, p. 550.
30. Pedani Fabris, 'A seventeenth century Muslim traveller', pp. 228–30.
31. Paolo Preto, *I Servizi Secreti di Venezia,* contains a great deal of information on Ottoman–Venetian relations.
32. Archivio di Stato, Venice, Documenti Turchi No. 2012; Pedani Fabris, *I 'Documenti Turchi'*, p. 554.
33. For a pioneering study see Rhoads Murphey, 'Forms of differentiation and expressions of individuality in Ottoman society', pp. 135–70.
34. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Honour and hurt Feelings', pp. 63–78.
35. Murat Çizakça, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships*, pp. 4, 67.
36. Faroqhi, 'Bosnian merchants in the Adriatic', pp. 232–7.
37. Zeki Arıkan, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İhracı Yasak Mallar (Memnu Meta)', pp. 279–307; Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Ottoman attitudes towards merchants from Latin Christendom before 1600', pp. 69–104.
38. Nathalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels,* and other studies by this author.
39. Deborah Howard, *Venice & the East*.
40. Rosamund E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza;* Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*.

Chapter 6 Keepsakes and trade goods from seventeenth-century Mecca

1. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, pp. 617–8; among other things, it was possible to buy the *ihram* or cloth that pilgrims wore during their stay in Mecca.
2. Propriety and reality did not always coincide, and some washing must have occurred: in modern Turkish the expression

that 'compared to so-and-so, this or that person has been washed with Zemzem water' means that the latter may not be perfect, but still is a lot better than the former.

3. Colette Establet and Jean-Paul Pasqual, *Ultime Voyage pour la Mecque*, p. 146.
4. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 9, p. 386. 5.
5. Ibid., p. 387.
6. Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, pp. 64–5.
7. Jacques Jomier O.P., *Le Mahmal et la Caravane Égyptienne des Pélerins de la Mecque*.
8. Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda and Zeren Tanındı, *Osmanlı Resim Sanatı*, p. 81.
9. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 10, p. 616.
10. Richard Ettinghausen, 'Die bildliche Darstellung der Ka'aba im islamischen Kulturkreis', pp. 111–37.
11. Noha Abou-Khatwa, 'Ottoman art (1517–19th century)', pp. 187–262, pp. 208–9.
12. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, pp. 100–1.
13. Ibid., p. 102.
14. Hans-Joachim Kißling, 'Zur Geschichte der Rausch-und Genußgifte im Osmanis-chen Reiche', pp. 342–56.
15. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 9, p. 400.
16. Ibid., p. 409.
17. Mutsuo Kawatoku, 'Coffee trade in the al-Tūr Port, South Sinai', pp. 51–68, p. 55.
18. Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, p. 157.
19. Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance,* p. 28.
20. Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik, the Pottery of Ottoman Turkey,* p. 272.
21. Establet and Pasqual, *Ultime Voyage pour la Mecque*, p. 150, point out that coffee cups were mainly present in the baggage of returning pilgrims; see also 'Café et objets du café dans les inventaires des pèlerins musulmans vers 1700', pp. 153–60.
22. Halil İnalcık, 'Osmanlı Pamuklu Pazarı, Hindistan ve İngiltere: Pazar Rekabetinde Emek Maliyetinin Rolü', pp. 1–65; Establet and Pasqual, *Ultime Voyage pour la Mecque*, pp. 86–99.
23. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 9, p. 407.
24. Jane Hathaway, *Beshir Agha, Chief Eunuch of the Ottoman Imperial Harem*, pp. 11–23.

25. In his later years, when Evliya lived in Cairo, he himself undertook a trip to the land of Funj: Evliya Çelebi vol. 10, pp. 844–96. For a German translation of these passages see Evliya Çelebi, *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func*.
26. Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt/Main, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, p. 66.
27. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 9, p. 362.
28. Ibid., vol. 9, pp. 364–5.
29. Ibid., vol. 9, pp. 366.
30. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 364.
31. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 397.
32. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 369.
33. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 398.
34. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 399.
35. Establet and Pascual, *Ultime Voyage pour la Mecque*, pp. 141–62.
36. Ibid., pp. 141–2.
37. Mehmet Genç, 'L'economie ottomane et la guerre au XVIIIe siècle', pp. 177–96.

Chapter 7 Entering and leaving the Empire's industrious core

1. Halil Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves in the social and economic life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th centuries', pp. 43–112. For a broadly based account see Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).
2. Halil Inalcik, 'Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant', pp. 131–47.
3. Nurhan Atasoy, Walter Denny, Louise W. Mackee and Hülya Tezcan, *İpek. Osmanlı Dokuma Sanatı* (London, Istanbul: TEB İletişim & Yayıncılık and Azimuth Editions, 2001); Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç, *Osmanlı kültürünün Avrupa'daki yansımaları* (Istanbul: Armaggan, 2012).
4. Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation Matérielle, Économie et Capitalisme*, vol. 1, p. 444.
5. Cemal Kafadar, 'Eyüp'te Kılıç Kuşanma Törenleri', pp. 50–61; Nicolas Vatin, 'Aux origines du pèlerinage à Eyüp des sultans ottomans', pp. 91–100.
6. Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World,* pp. 138–40.

7. Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600*.
8. Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves'.
9. For Indian slaves in Bursa, see ibid., reprint, p. 134.
10. Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City*, pp. 10–11, provides estimates concerning the declining number of slaves in seventeenth-century Bursa. On the economic rationale of replacing slaves with poor free people see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Bursa at the Crossroads', pp. 113–48.
11. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Female costumes in late fifteenth-century Bursa', pp. 63–74.
12. Cotton production had been significant throughout, but only in the eighteenth century did documentation become more abundant.
13. Leila T. Erder, 'The making of industrial Bursa'.
14. Fahri Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*.
15. Ömer Lûtfi Barkan with Enver Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defteri I*, introduction p. 66 and document section, p. 1. From a note in the document section on p. 35 it is apparent that there had once existed a register from the reign of Murad I, but this has not survived. For estimates of Bursa population based on a somewhat later register, see Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, pp. 2–4.
16. Halil Inalcik, 'Istanbul', pp. 224–48.
17. *Idem*, 'Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant', Barkan with Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr*, document section p. 10, note 179.
18. For detailed information on the buildings compare Albert Gabriel, *Une capital turque, Brousse-Bursa*; see also Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* p. 86.
19. Barkan with Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr*, document section p. 49.
20. Ibid., p. 25.
21. Ibid., p. 38.
22. Ibid., p. 43.
23. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'The business of trade', pp. 193–216.
24. Murat Çizakça, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships*. pp. 66–77.
25. Ahmed Refik, *Onuncu Asr-ı hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı*, p. 48.
26. See most recently Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, pp. 20–2; for a sampling of original documents compare Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, p. 214.

27. Johannes Schiltberger, *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren*, p. 106.
28. I owe this information to a public lecture by Professor David Jacobi (Munich, February 2004), to whom I am most grateful.
29. Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, passim, Inalcik, Bursa and the commerce of the Levant; Iklil Erefe, 'State and society in the marketplace'.
30. Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, pp. 131–6.
31. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver*; Rudolph P. Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran*; Edmund M. Herzig, 'The rise of the Julfa merchants in the late sixteenth century', pp. 305–22.
32. Murat Çizakça, 'Price history and the Bursa silk industry', pp. 247–61.
33. Mustafa Akdağ, *Celâlî İsyanları 1550–1603*, p. 220.
34. Çizakça, 'Price History', pp. 251–5.
35. Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World*; Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *In Nome del Gran Signore,* pp. 92–3.
36. Louise W. Mackie, 'Ottoman kaftans with an Italian identity', pp. 219–30.
37. Gerber, *Bursa*, p. 32, even considers 1650–80 a boom period.
38. Ibid., p. 81ff.
39. Murat Çizakça, 'Incorporation of the Middle East', pp. 353–78.
40. Oral information given by Charlotte Jirousek, director of the textile museum of Cornell University, Ithaca, NY; many thanks for her help.
41. Gerber, *Bursa*, p. 61.
42. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 'Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar' *Tarih Vesikaları*, 1, no. 5 (1942), pp. 326–40; 2, no. 7 (1942), pp. 15–40; 2, no. 9 (1942), pp. 168–77. See particularly 2, no. 7: pp. 28–31.
43. At least this is the conclusion we might draw from a text in the Bursa qadi registers, dated to 1586, enumerating the owners of looms who had suffered heavy losses due to the current Ottoman–Safavid war, for there was no woman among them: Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, p. 335. However, from Haim Gerber, 'Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city', pp. 231–44, we do learn of a (probable) woman trader who owned silk-weaving looms.

44. Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, p. 320.
45. Ibid., p. 396.
46. Gerber, 'Women', p. 237.
47. Ibid., p. 237.
48. For Orthodox women who ran embroidery workshops see Angelos Delivorias, *A Guide to the Benaki Museum*, pp. 137–40; given my ignorance of Greek I have not been able to track down whatever research may exist on this subject.
49. Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, p. 388.
50. Delivorias, *Benaki Museum*, p. 136; for a brief reference to this collection see Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, p. 74.
51. Delivorias, *Benaki Museum*, p. 137.
52. Kangal, Selmin, ed., *War and Peace*, p. 237.
53. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, pp. 66–70, provides evidence from travellers' accounts concerning the prosperity of Bursa silk and its orientation towards the home market.
54. Faroqhi, 'Female costumes'. For eighteenth-century inventories compare, for example, the register B 160 located in the National Library, Ankara. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether the disposal of a deceased person's clothing was different in the 1700s from what it had been two and a half centuries earlier. Perhaps in early Ottoman times such pieces were often given away before death, so that they were no longer in the house when the scribes came around to make their lists. But maybe such a custom, if indeed it existed, also meant that textiles were rarer and therefore more highly valued in the late fifteenth century.
55. Mackie, 'Ottoman kaftans'.
56. Dalsar, *Bursa'da İpekçilik*, pp. 349–53.
57. Bursa sicili B 243, fols 10a–11a; at the time I consulted this register it was located in the National Library, Ankara.
58. Money-lending had been an important source of income for well-off inhabitants of Bursa in the 1730s, and continued to be significant at the century's end: Suraiya Faroqhi, 'A builder as slave owner and rural moneylender', pp. 95–112.
59. Mine Esiner Özen, 'Türkçede Kumaş Adları', pp. 291–340, see p. 314 for a list of the different varieties of *futa*.
60. For a listing of the qualities of silk available in Bursa, compare the dissertation by Murat Çizakça, 'Sixteenth–seventeenth-century inflation and the Bursa silk industry: a pattern for

Ottoman for industrial decline?' unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, available through University Microfilms, 1978, pp. 39–97. Unfortunately, for our purposes the list concerns the silks of 1600 and not those available around 1800.

61. Neşe Erim, 'Trade, traders and the state in eighteenth century Erzurum', pp. 123–50.
62. Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, section Bab-ı defteri-Bursa Mukataası No. 24377.
63. On fabrics with the stamp (*damga*) of Chios compare Hülya Tezcan, 'Döşemede Tarih: Sakız Adasının Osmanlı İpeklileri', pp. 10–15. This publication being quite difficult to locate, I am indebted to the author for providing me with a photocopy.
64. Domenico Sestini, *Voyage dans la Grèce Asiatique,* p. 194.
65. This was one of the brothers Auzet, also encountered by Sestini: ibid., p. 87 and elsewhere.
66. Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, Fonds Roux, LIX/743, September 1769.
67. On the basis of the travel reports he has studied, Lowry has come to a very similar conclusion: Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, pp. 55–62.
68. Joseph von Hammer-[Purgstall], *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa*, pp. 69–70.
69. Esiner Özen, 'Türkçede Kumaş Adları', p. 304, describes *beledi* as a cotton textile without any reference to Bursa as a manufacturing centre.
70. Bursa sicili B 232, fol. 6b, at the time of consultation located in the National Library, Ankara.
71. Esiner Özen, 'Türkçede Kumaş Adları', p. 300.
72. On the importance of the 'lake district' of south-western Anatolia as a centre for cotton manufacture, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Notes on the production of cotton and cotton cloth in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Anatolia', pp. 405–17.
73. The nineteenth-century fate of Bursa silks has been admirably discussed by Donald Quataert in his seminal study *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 107–33. Compare also his earlier article 'The Silk Industry of Bursa', pp. 284–99. As these studies are readily available, the present account, which depends mainly on Quataert's work, can be very brief.
74. Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*, p. 115.

75. Erder, ‘Industrial Bursa’, pp. 121–31.
76. Ibid., p. 136.

Chapter 8 Just passing through

1. The earliest register covering Üsküdar is Tapu Tahrir 436 in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul; it is undated but archivists have placed it in the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent. On various sectors of the town’s population see Yvonne Seng, ‘Standing at the gates of justice’, pp. 184–206; *eadem*, ‘Fugitives and factotums’, pp. 136–169; ‘A liminal state’, pp. 24–43. The author’s unpublished dissertation ‘The Üsküdar estates (*tereke*) as records of everyday life in an Ottoman town, 1521–1524’ was defended in 1991 at the University of Chicago.
2. İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abide ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, pp. 249–52, 213–21.
3. Rıfat Günalan, Mehmet Akman and Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil (H. 970–971/M. 1562–1563)*, p. 109.
4. Kenan Yıldız and Recep Ahıskalı, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil (H. 940–942/M. 1534–1536)* p. 191, pp. 353–407; Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 404–61.
5. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 232, 261; Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 255–6.
6. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 71–3.
7. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘Bazı Büyük Şehirlerde Eşya ve Yiyecek Fiyatlarının Tesbit ve Teftişi Hususlarını Tanzim Eden Kanunlar’, I (1942), No. 5, pp. 326–40; II, No. 7, pp. 15–40; II, No. 9, pp. 68–177. The data concerning Istanbul are in No. I.
8. Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defterleri 66, p. 31, no. 68.
9. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 178 184 and 390.
10. Halil Sahillioğlu, ‘Slaves in the social and economic life of Bursa pp. 43–112; Seng, ‘Fugitives and Factotums’, pp. 152–63.
11. This part of our study continues the work of Seng, ‘Fugitives and factotums’, for the middle decades of the sixteenth century.

12. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 181–2.
13. Ibid., p. 137.
14. Ibid., 413, 415, 429, 431.
15. Ibid., p. 430.
16. Ibid., p. 98.
17. Ibid., pp. 89–90.
18. For the numerous cases of conditional slavery among the resident slaves, see Seng, 'Fugitives and factotums', pp. 138–51.
19. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 160 and 328. As the name Mesih indicates, the man in question was probably a convert from Christianity.
20. Ibid., p. 81. On the commitment that a slave would be free upon the owner's death (*tedbir, müdebber, müdebbir*) see Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves', pp. 57–60.
21. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 233.
22. Ibid., pp. 407–31 are devoted all but exclusively to such matters.
23. Ibid., pp. 427–28.
24. Ibid., p. 254.
25. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 181 and 392.
26. Nicolas Vatin, 'Une affaire interne', pp. 149–90. For a possible case of this kind, involving a woman from Mistra in the Peloponnese, compare Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 278. For the sale of a free man from Ankara as a slave, see ibid., p. 395.
27. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 412.
28. Ibid., p. 404.
29. On these crucial workmen the basic article is still Cengiz Orhonlu, 'İstanbul'da Kayıkçılık ve Kayık İşletmeciliği', pp. 83–103.
30. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 432.
31. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 348–9, 207, 213, 260.
32. Ahmet Kal'a et al. (eds), *İstanbul Külliyatı: İstanbul Ahkâm*

Defterleri, vol. I.

33. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 450–1.
34. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 294.
35. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 143.
36. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 135.
37. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 205.
38. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 83–4.
39. Ibid., pp. 143, 145.
40. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26*, pp. 82–5.
41. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 93, 102.
42. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26*, pp. 291–2.
43. Ibid., p. 455.
44. Ibid., pp. 261, 349; for a mule worth nine gold pieces see Ibid.,, p. 309.
45. Ibid., pp. 238, 242, 245, 248–9, 262.
46. Ibid., pp. 199, 356.
47. Ibid., pp. 203, 309–10.
48. Ibid., pp. 226, 236, 246, 393. The mule-driver from Tosya did not hesitate to admit his debt; but one of his colleagues strenuously rejected a supposed debt of ten gold pieces, supposedly contracted for an unknown reason.
49. Işık Tamdoğan, 'Atı Alan Üsküdar'ı Geçti ya da 18. Yüzyılda Üsküdar'da Şiddet ve Hareketlilik İlişkisi', pp. 80–95.
50. Ibid.

Chapter 9 Mostly fugitives: the trials and tribulations of slaves in sixteenth-century Üsküdar

1. Ehud Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression; Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, see pp. 11–12;

As if Silent and Absent; İsmail Parlatır, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Kölelik*; Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800–1909*.

2. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'From the slave market to Arafat' pp. 3–20.
3. Still fundamental: Halil Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves in the social and economic life of Bursa', pp. 43–112.
4. Nur Sobers Khan, 'Slaves without shackles'.
5. Yvonne Seng, 'The Üsküdar estates (*tereke*) as records of everyday life in an Ottoman town', 'Fugitives and factotums', pp. 136–69 based on Nos 2 and 6 (1521–4 and 1527–30); 'A Liminal State', pp. 24–43.
6. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'From Anatolia to Istanbul and back again', pp. 278–89. For examples of published *sicil*s see: Kenan Yıldız and Recep Ahıskalı, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil (H. 940–942/M. 1534–1536)*; Rıfat Günalan, Mehmet Akman and Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil (H. 970–971/ M. 1562–1563)* (Istanbul, 2010). A useful reference work on Üsküdar's buildings is: İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abide ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*.
7. Günalan, Akman and Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*.
8. Seng, 'A Liminal State'.
9. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 1037, p. 426.
10. Ibid., no.1028, p. 422. Bosnian slaves were quite frequent although the Ottoman conquest of most of Bosnia had taken place some seventy years before our register was compiled. According to Srećko M. Džaja, *Konfessionalität und Nationalität Bosniens und der Herzegowina,* p. 23, the fighting continued in the early 1500s: Srebenik became Ottoman in 1512, Šabac in 1521, and Jajce, which had been conquered by Mehmed II but then lost again, was retaken in 1527–8. I thank Markus Koller (Bochum/Germany) for providing this reference.
11. Proceedings of the World Congress on Engineering 2008 Vol II,WCE 2008, 2–4 July, 2008, London, U.K: http://www.tayproject.org/TAYages.fm$Retrieve?CagNo=9764&html=ages_detail_e.html&layout=web. Access through: http://www.iaeng.org/publication/WCE2008/WCE2008_pp1268–1272.pdf (both accessed on 23 July 2012).
12. İsmet Binark et al., eds, *438 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri,* vol. 2, pp. 792–3.

13. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 'XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Toprak İşçiliğinin Organizasyonu Şekilleri', I (1939–40), 1, pp. 29–74; I, 2, pp. 198–245; I, 4, pp. 397–447. *Ortakçıs* have also been found in central Anatolia: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'Fiscalité et formes de possession de la terre arable dans l'Anatolie préot-tomane', pp. 233–313, see pp. 278–86. This article deals with the former principality of Karaman, where the *ortakçı* were not called *kul* and apparently did not suffer from some of the disabilities noted by Barkan.
14. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, 'Türkiye'de 'Servaj' var mı idi?', pp. 237–46. But this view has been contested: compare Melda Yaman Öztürk and Nuray Ertürk Keskin, 'Is reaya so different from the (sic) serf?'.
15. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 722, p. 295; no. 727, p. 297. The same observation has been made by Seng, 'Fugitives', p. 137.
16. Ibid., no. 1049, p. 430.
17. Seng, 'Fugitives and factotums', p. 137, has come to the same conclusion.
18. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 999, pp. 411–2.
19. Sahillioğlu, 'Slaves', pp. 53–9.
20. An *amil* could be in charge of collecting taxes or serve a pious foundation; compare Ferit Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*, p. 31. A *cabi* was in charge of collecting revenues for pious foundations (*vakıf*). Ibid, no. 161, p. 121.
21. Ibid., no. 534, p. 233.
    In *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle Yazılmış Kitplardan Toplanan Tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü*, pp. 2062–3, the term *illik* among other definitions is translated as 'belonging to the country or ruler'; *Türkiye'de Halk Agzından Derleme Sözlüğü*, vol. 7, p. 2531, has the meaning 'somebody who goes somewhere else, like a girl married off'. In the present context probably *illik* denoted a provincial, or a locally recruited member of the household of a powerful man.
22. Ibid., nos. 750 and 751, pp. 305–6.
23. Ibid., nos. 558 and 559, p. 240.
24. Ibid., no. 68, p. 92.
25. Ibid., no. 758, p. 308.
26. Ibid., no. 603, p. 254.
27. Ibid., no. 52, p. 86.

28. Ibid., no. 496, p. 222.
29. Ibid., no.183, p. 127
30. For the continuing difficulties of securing liberation as an *ümm-i veled* in the 1800s see Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*, pp. 179–81.
31. Joseph Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 174.
32. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 664, pp. 274–5.
33. Ibid., no. 626, p. 262; no. 675, p. 277.
34. Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*, p. 696; compare also Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, p. 83.
35. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 675, pp. 277–8.
36. Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 625, p. 262.
37. Ibid., no. 672, p. 276; nos 677, 678, p. 278; nos 679, 680, p. 279.
38. Ibid., no. 671, p. 276.
39. Ibid., no. 673, p. 277.
40. Ibid., no. 679, 680, p. 279.
41. Ibid., no. 910, p. 363.
42. Ibid., no. 1055, p. 432. While in the 1700s it became increasingly necessary for Istanbul artisans and workmen to supply acceptable guarantors, in the 1500s apparently the authorities required such guarantees only in special cases.
43. Faroqhi, 'From Anatolia to Istanbul and back again'.
44. These estimates are based on the inheritance inventory of Ali Fakih: Yıldız and Ahıskalı, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, no. 965, pp. 396–7.

Chapter 10 The adventures of Tunisian fez-sellers in eighteenth-century Istanbul

1. Daniel Panzac, *La Peste dans l'Empire Ottoman,* pp. 275–76. This information is based on Stanford Shaw, 'The Population of Istanbul in the nineteenth century', pp. 265–77, see p. 266.
2. Betül Başaran, 'The 1829 Census', pp. 53–72; Antonie (sic for Antoine) Olivier, *18. yüzyılda türkiye ve istanbul*, p. 30.
3. Halil İnalcık, 'Istanbul', pp. 224–48, see p. 244.

4. Panzac, *La Peste*, p. 198.
5. Münir Aktepe, 'İstanbul'un nüfus mes'elesine dair vesikalar', *Tarih Dergisi*, IX/13 (1958), pp. 1–30, see p. 10.
6. Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları, Zahire Ticareti,* pp. 1–85
7. Aktepe, 'İstanbul'un nüfus mes'elesine dair vesikalar'.
8. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Migration into eighteenth-century "Greater Istanbul"', pp. 163–83.
9. Hala Fattah, 'Representations of self and the other', pp. 51–76.
10. André Raymond, *Artisans et Commerçants* vol. 2, pp. 464–9.
11. Antonio Dominguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los Moriscos.*
12. Lucette Valensi, 'Islam et capitalisme', pp. 376–400, see p. 378; for details of the production process, on the basis of French and also Arabic sources, see pp. 377–80. Corinne Maitte, 'Adapter les produits, jouer sur les marchés', pp. 1115–42, see pp. 1118–21. I am grateful to Giorgio Riello who gave me a copy of this work, unfortunately rather hard to find.
13. Valensi, 'Islam et capitalisme', pp. 386–7.
14. Ibid., pp. 385.
15. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* see index.
16. Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi, section Maliyeden müdevver (MAD) 9983, p. 491 (1171/1757–8). The original was on record in the registers of the Ru'us-ı humayun.
17. Suraiya Faroqhi and Randi Deguilhem, eds, *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East.*
18. Two texts are recorded in MAD 9983, pp. 491 and 535 (both from 1171/1757–8); this register contains, in no particular order, hundreds of sultanic commands that were confirmed upon the accession of Mustafa III in 1757. The third text is dated to 1180/1766–7: MAD 9996, p. 27. As we have not as yet found any registers dealing specifically with the affairs of the Mağribîs, we continue to depend on chance finds that turn up while researchers are at work on other issues.
19. Halil Inalcik, 'Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 97–140.
20. Inalcik, 'Capital Formation', p. 105.
21. Sabri Ülgener, *İktisadi Çözülmenin Ahlak ve Zihniyet Dünyası*; this is the revised version of a book first published in 1951,

when many Turkish producers were probably less involved with the world market than their late Ottoman predecessors had ever been.

22. Eunjeong Yi, 'The supposed egalitarianism among guildsmen', and 'Guilds, merchants and "egalitarianism". Her study Rich artisans and poor merchants? A critical look at the supposed egalitarianism in Ottoman guilds' is forthcoming.
23. Valensi, 'Islam et capitalisme', p. 385.
24. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, '1009 (1600) tarihli Narh Defterine göre Istanbul'da çeşidli eşya ve hizmet fiatları', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 9 (1978), pp. 1–86, and eadem, *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi*, pp. 112–13 and elsewhere.
25. Gilles Veinstein, 'Les marchands étrangers dans l'Empire Ottoman (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles): Questions de prix', in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Gilles Veinstein, pp. 47–62.
26. Cemal Kafadar, 'When coins turned into drops of dew', p. 128.
27. MAD 9983, p. 491. For the complicated process of appointment of a guild *kethüda* see Halil Inalcik, 'The appointment procedure of a guild warden', pp. 135–42.
28. MAD 9983, p. 535.
29. For the exemption of long-distance traders from the rules of the *muhtesib*, and thereby from the *narh* see Inalcik, 'Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire', p. 98.
30. Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City*, pp. 48–51.
31. MAD 9996, p. 27.
32. On appointment fees payable by candidates to *kethüdā* positions see Mehmet Genç, 'Ottoman industry in the eighteenth century', pp. 59–86, see p. 62, and Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Purchasing guild- and craft-based offices in the Ottoman central lands', pp. 123–46. A purse (*kīse, kese*) equalled a varying amount of *akçe*; according to Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 2, p. 249, 1 *kese* in 1688 was equal to 50,000 *akçe*; I have not been able to locate any eighteenth-century figures.
33. MAD 9996, p. 27.
34. Ibid.
35. MAD 9983, p. 535.
36. MAD 9996, p. 27.

37. Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, vol. 2, pp. 369–70, describes a *lonca* as exactly the kind of locality as which it appears in our document, namely as a meeting place for the older and more respected masters, in which the latter settled minor intra-guild problems, and sometimes inflicted physical punishments as well.
38. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Quis custodiet custodes?', in *Frontiers of Faith*, ed. by Eszter Andor and István Györgi Tóth pp. 119–34 and Salih Aynural, 'The millers and bakers of Istanbul, 1750–1840', pp. 153–94, see pp. 174–5.
39. MAD 9996, p. 27.
40. MAD 9983, p. 535.
41. Hafız Hüseyin al-Ayvansarayî, *The Garden of the Mosques,* p. 355.
42. MAD 9983, p. 491.
43. MAD 9983, p. 491; the records were kept in the office of the Harameyn Muhasebesi, see the relevant section in the Başbakanlık Arşivi-Osmanlı Arşivi.
44. MAD 9996, p. 27.
45. Genç, 'Ottoman industry in the eighteenth century', p. 62.
46. Faroqhi, 'Purchasing guild and craft-based offices'.
47. MAD 9983, p. 491. From MAD 9983, p. 535, we understand that it was really the artisans themselves who provided the tickets.
48. On a guild of Orthodox Bursa dyers operating from a dye-house attached to the foundations of Ahmed III, and whose *kethüdas* seem to have typically been Muslims, see Suraiya Faroqhi, 'A builder as slave owner', pp. 235–43.

Chapter 11 Controlling borders and workmen, all in one fell swoop

1. Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskân Teşebbüsü.*
2. For a discussion of the work that Albanian migrants might get to do, and the impression they made on the authorities, see Nina Ergin, 'Bathing business in Istanbul', pp.142–68.
3. On Osman II and his policies compare the new work of Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.
4. Very informative articles on 'Hotin/Khotin' can be found in the

Türkiye Diyanet Vak-fi İslam Ansiklopedisi (Dariusz Kołodzeiczyk), the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* published by the Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (Aurel Decei) and the *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd edition (Colin Heywood). In addition, the Türk Tarih Kurumu is preparing a work of reference on Ottoman structures outside of Turkey; for this project Bozkurt Ersoy (Ege Üniversitesi, Izmir) has investigated Hotin. I am very grateful for his help.

An officer of the Ottoman garrison, who wrote in the mid-1700s, has produced a detailed description of the fortress as it was at that time; an abridged translation into German was published by Ottokar Freiherr Von Schlechta Wssehrd, 'Walachei, Moldau, Bessarabien, die Krim und Asow usw', pp. 550, 562–8.

5. Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, Istanbul, Maliyeden müdevver (MAD) 1619.
6. Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve diger Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, p. 71.
7. 'Arnavutköy' is the present-day spelling.
8. Or else there may be publications already available that I have missed because I do not read Ukrainian or Russian.
9. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı,* 2 vols (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972, 1979); Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp. 232–3.
10. Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force', pp. 125–40; Betül Başaran, 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity'.
11. Valentin Groebner, *Der Schein der Person*; Jean-Pierre Gutton, *Etablir l'Identité – L'Identification des Français du Moyen Age à Nos Jours*. This paper also owes a good deal to discussions with Fatmanur Sarmastı, who has recently defended an MA thesis at Boğaziçi University on Ottoman internal passports in the nineteenth century.
12. Ahmed Refik [Altınay] (ed.), *Onuncu Asr-ı Hicrîde İstanbul Hayatı (1495–1591),* p. 133, has published a sultanic command ordering some masters in the craft of carpet manufacture to relocate from Cairo to Istanbul; officials surely had picked these particular men because they were known as especially competent.
13. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti*, vol. 2, p. 2.
14. See ibid., vol. 2, p. 3 for a brief list of Bursa workmen excused because the official in charge thought that they were unsuitable for the Süleymaniye construction site.

15. See for example Kenan Yıldız and Recep Ahıskalı, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 9 Numaralı Sicil*, Rıfat Günalan, Mehmet Akman and Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 26 Numaralı Sicil*. See also Yvonne Seng, 'Fugitives and factotums', pp. 136–69; 'A liminal state', pp. 24–43.

16. Arabic must have become relevant in the case of Africans, who often had spent time in Egypt or other North African provinces before arriving in Anatolia or Istanbul – typically the Africans entered the record as *arab*.

17. Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Siyakat Yazısı ve Tarihi Gelişimi*, pp. 349–51. The documents are dated to 1010/1601–2. I thank Gilles Veinstein for directing me to this publication.

    It is noteworthy that the draftees whose names we find on the pages published by Öztürk were all adolescents, between fourteen and eighteen years of age. If this was the normal pattern, evidently the administration had no interest in boys young enough to 'forget their homes and parents', as historians of a previous generation have sometimes suggested.

18. I thank Yavuz Köse/Hamburg for kindly drawing the two maps.

19. Başaran, 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity', has discussed these matters for Istanbul during the late 1700s; her book on the subject is forthcoming.

20. Vağarşag Seropyan, 'Kevork (Surp) kilisesi', pp. 552–4.

21. On the locations mentioned here compare İrfan Dağdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri*.

22. Compare Necdet Sakaoğlu, 'Yeni odalar', pp. 467–8.

23. I have excluded khans with only one recorded sojourner. Among the buildings listed, only the Zincirli han corresponds to a building mentioned in the list of late eighteenth-century Istanbul khans as compiled by Kevork Pamukciyan, '18. Yüzyılın Sonlarında İstanbul Hanları', pp. 119–23. A Papasoğlu hanı also appears in this list, which may or may not be identical to one of the two similarly named buildings in our table.

24. Gutton, *Etablir l'Identité*, *passim*, also stresses that personal descriptions in early modern France were of limited usefulness.

25. Even in the late 1500s Ottoman officials had had serious reservations about Albanians seeking work in Istanbul: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, p. 271.

26. In 14 cases the records speak of *taze bıyıklı emred*; thus

36 + 70 = 106; if to avoid double counting we disregard these boys, 106–14 = 92 gives us 92 juveniles, corresponding to 23 per cent of all draftees.

27. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Fifty years after the Conquest', pp. 243–54, compare pp. 246–7.
28. Münir Aktepe, 'XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dâir Bâzı Vesikalar', *Tarih Dergisi*, IX, 13 (1958), pp. 1–30.
29. Some names are illegible due to damage to the paper, therefore the figures given here are approximate.
30. Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force'; Başaran, 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity'.
31. I am grateful to Mehmet Beşikçi who has made me aware of this issue: *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: Between Voluntarism and Resistance* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

Chapter 12 Selling sweetmeats

1. This expression has become a standard way of referring to the old city centre.
2. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1.
3. The map, which is the centre-piece of this article, was prepared by Professor Murat Güvenç of Istanbul Bilgi University and his team, particularly Sevil Şeten: my heartfelt thanks! Engin Akarlı, '*Gedik*: implements, mastership, shop usufruct and monopoly among Istanbul artisans', pp. 223–32.
4. Engin Akarlı, 'Gedik: a bundle of rights and obligations for Istanbul artisans and traders', pp. 166–200.
5. Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-century Istanbul,* p. 113–125. For references to early guilds attempting to restrict access see Halil Inalcik, 'Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 97–140.
6. Onur Yıldırım and Seven Ağır, '*Gedik*: a concept too many'.
7. Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*.
8. On the events of 1730 the main study is still Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı*, although enough information has surfaced since the fifties to make a new study desirable.
9. Başbakanlık Arşivi Osmanlı Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver (MAD) 9983, p. 190, dated Safer 1171/ October 1757.

10. Ahmet Kal'a et al. (eds), *İstanbul Külliyatı*, vol. 1, pp. 111–2 and 241–2.
11. For a baklava recipe from the years around 1600 see: Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Food for feasts', pp. 197–208.
12. On *çörek* compare Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları, Zahire Ticareti*, and Mehmet Demirtaş, *Osmanlıda Fırıncılık: 17. yüzyı*.
13. Kal'a et al. (eds), *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*, vol. 1, p. 239.
14. Ahmed Refik, *On altıncı Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, pp. 40–41.
15. Thus the wealthy Armenian banker Mıgrediç/Mkrdich Cezayirliyan at the time of his fall in 1852 possessed a villa in Hasköy, which he apparently used as the family residence: M. Erdem Kabadayı, 'Mkrdich Cezarliyan or the sharp rise and sudden fall of an Ottoman entrepreneur', pp. 281–91, see p. 290.
16. By the early twentieth century the bath was no longer in evidence, but there was still a street close to the Mehmed Paşa mosque that bore its name. See İrfan Dağdelen ed., *Alman Mavileri*, vol. II, Feuille H9/1.
17. The 1913–4 map shows both a Kürkçüler and a Kürekçiler sokağı in Karaköy/Galata: Dağdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri*, vol. II, Feuille H9.
18. Ibid.
19. Perhaps the compiler meant to refer to the street known as Boğazkesen, located in this area.
20. On Ortaköy: Minna Rozen, 'Public space and private space, pp. 331–46: on Beşiktaş see 'Beşiktaş sarayı' by Tülay Artan.
21. For Tavukpazarı see Dağdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri*, vol. II, Feuille H6. While there are several obelisks and columns known as Dikilitaş, the proximity of Tavukpazarı indicates that today's Çemberlitaş was intended: see Semavi Eyice, 'Dikilitaş' and Erdem Yücel, 'Dikilitaşlar', in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. 3, pp. 51–3.
22. For both Macuncu and Halıcılar see Dağdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri*, vol. III, Feuille L7. While there was another Macuncu near the Grand Bazaar, the geography of the city suggests that the site near Halıcılar was intended.
23. Maurice Cerasi, *The Istanbul Divanyolu*.
24. Halil Inalcik, 'The hub of the city', pp. 1–17.
25. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p. 175.

26. Çağatay Uluçay, 'İstanbul Saraçhanesi ve Saraçlarına Dair bir Araştırma', pp. 147–64; Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Urban space as disputed grounds', pp. 219–34.
27. Mehmet Canatar, ed., *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri,* pp. 314, 316. For the location of Küçük Karaman see Cerasi, *Divanyolu*, 2nd map on p. 37.
28. Dağdelen, ed., *Alman Mavileri*, vol. III, Feuille L8.
29. Ibid., vol. II, Feuille 1.
30. This must have been located on/near the Sultanhamam Cad. that in 1913–4 passed close to the Kariye mosque: ibid., vol. III, Feuille 10.
31. In all these places a single *gedik* was recorded. Ibid., vol. III, Feuille L11 shows a Lonca Caddesi. For the location of Odunkapısı see Barış Kıbrıs, ed., *Istanbul: City of Dreams*, p. 95.
32. There also was a *gedik* located 'below the law-court'; but given the confusion in this section of our list it is impossible to say which law-court was intended.
33. I have not been able to locate 'Ketenciler içinde'; presumably the sweetshop was located in one of the khans, numerous in this part of the city.
34. Galata: Azapkapı, Kürekçi kapısı; Istanbul: Silivrikapı,Topkapı, Edirnekapı, Eğrikapı, Balatkapı, Odunkapısı, Ayazmakapısı.
35. Ekrem Işın, 'Coffeehouses as Places of Conversation', pp. 199–208.
36. For a reconstruction see Cem Kozar and Işıl Ünal, *Hayalet Yapılar/Ghost Buildings*, pp. 76–89.

Chapter 13 Where to make and sell cheap textiles in eighteenth-century Istanbul

1. M. Akif Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*.
2. Perhaps the unpublished registers of the Istanbul qadis' court (nos 23 or 25) contain even more material.
3. Engin Akarlı, '*Gedik*: implements, mastership, shop usufruct and monopoly', pp. 223–32; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, pp. 120–1.
4. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Selling sweetmeats and traversing the capital: Istanbul halva manufacturers in the mid-eighteenth century', in *Sûzişât-i mü'ellefe. Contaminazioni e spigolature turcologiche*, ed. by Matthias Kappler and Vera Costantini

(Crocetta del Montello: Terra Ferma, 2010), pp. 165–76, see p.166. Reprinted in the present volume.

5. Münir Aktepe, 'XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dâir Bâzı Vesikalar', pp. 1–30.
6. Among many others, the porters using packhorses (*at hammalları*) were in this position; see Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 43.
7. Compare the forthcoming study on Istanbul around 1800 by Betül Başaran: I thank the author for allowing me to read her manuscript.
8. Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 84.
9. Ahmet Kal'a et al. eds, *İstanbul Külliyatı*, vol. 1, *İstanbul esnaf tarihi.*
10. Aydın et al., eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 42.
11. A few examples concerning Bursa: Fahri Dalsar, *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*; Halil Inalcik, 'Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant', pp. 131–47; Murat Çizakça, 'Price history and the Bursa silk industry', pp. 247–61; Haim Gerber, 'Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city', pp. 231–44; idem, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City*.
12. On eighteenth-century silk manufacture in Istanbul compare the present author's 'Keeping artisans in their places, or how to run a guild and sell its product', published in Turkish translation by Dürrin Tunç, in *Karaların ve Denizlerin Sultanı İstanbul*, 2 vols, ed. by Filiz Özmen (Istanbul: Yapı ve Kredi, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 382–95.
13. For a recent discussion of Istanbul population figures compare Betül Başaran, 'The 1829 Census', pp. 53–72.
14. Nikolay Todorov, '19.cu Yüzyılın İlk Yarısında Bulgaristan Esnaf Teşkilatında Bazı Karakter Değişmeleri', pp 1–36. The detailed register available on DVD and included at the back of the published qadi register does not contain an entry for Filibe.
15. On the activities of a Bursa *bezzaz* from the late 1700s compare Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Surviving in difficult times: the cotton and silk trades in Bursa around 1800,' forthcoming.
16. Mine Esiner Özen, 'Türkçede Kumaş Adları', pp. 291–340, see p. 311.
17. Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, pp. 289–90.
18. The dictionary meaning of *oturakçı* is 'retired'; but a court case involving the Istanbul *oturakçıs* shows them buying up used

goods of all kinds at auction, especially those left behind by persons deceased. They were thus the men who took care of the 'sales in the sultans' [i.e.: public] markets' that are so often mentioned in inheritance registers. Used horse-gear was apparently a major item of the *oturakçıs*' trade. See ibid., p. 325.

19. Ibid., pp. 85–9. Among the sources of raw cotton, the text also names a place called Savur that I have not been able to identify. Another problem is due to the fact that the dates mentioned in the 'Cotton ferman' (*penbe fermanı*) and other texts linked to this matter are all 1038/1628–9; however, since the texts preceding and following this affair are dated to 1138/1725–6 I take this to be a scribal error.
20. On this structure compare Aygül Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi ve Dönüşümü*.
21. Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 194.
22. Possibly the traders in this location dealt in second-hand goods, but I don't think this is very likely since the merchants on this site preceded their colleagues doing business in all other places. In time we will find out ...
23. İrfan Dağdelen, ed., *Charles Edward Goad,* map no. 14.
24. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1, pp. 135, 334. See also the article 'Bitpazarı' (by the editorial committee) in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 8 vols (Istanbul: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı and Tarih Vakfı, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 249–50.
25. Ahmet Kal'a et al. eds, *İstanbul Külliyatı: İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*, vol. 1 *İstanbul esnaf tarihi,* p. 205; Kevork Pamukciyan, '18. Yüzyılın Sonlarında İstanbul Hanları', pp. 119–23. On p. 121 we find a Büyük Yeni Han but it was only built in 1761.

    Mehmet Canatar, ed., *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri 1009 (1600) Târîhli*, p. 672, contains only a single reference to the Bitbazarı, which may have been in the vicinity of the Bodrum Hanı.
26. Dağdelen, ed., *Charles Edward Goad*, map no. 30.
27. I thank my colleague Arus Yumul from Istanbul Bilgi University for sorting out the names that were or may have been Armenian.
28. Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 218.
29. For a discussion of the area in the 1400s and 1500s see Ağır, *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi*, pp.188–9. In the later 1400s the area contained a number of shops and storehouses, but

apparently no *abacıs*.

30. Kal'a et al. eds, *İstanbul esnaf tarihi,* p. 347. The dispute hinged on the attempt of the guild warden and his Muslim coterie to take over the *gedik* of a deceased Christian guildsman, including the shop inventory, and sell it to a newcomer. However, the brother of the deceased, as the latter's heir, had previously secured a decision that his deceased brother's property in the shop was not part of the *gedik* and therefore his rightful inheritance.

31. Today's Balmumcu quarter is part of Beşiktaş and thus cannot have been the location intended here. However, the Şazelî dervish lodge in Unkapanı, founded probably around 1800, was also known as Balmumcu, so perhaps that was the place that the scribes of our register referred to: see the article 'Şazelî tekkesi' by Baha Tanman, pp. 138–9.

32. Three major open Byzantine cisterns, all located near the land-walls, were known as Çukurbostan: see *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, p. 112. I do not know which one the scribes referred to. On Karagümrük as a 'good address' see the relevant article in the same encyclopedia, vol. 4, pp. 452–3 (by İlber Ortaylı).

33. These *han*s do not appear in M. Sadettin Fidan, *Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Hanları*, so either they no longer exist or else have changed their names. Ağır (in *İstanbul'un Eski Venedik Yerleşimi*, p. 171) confirms that the Katır Hanı is no longer in existence.

34. Duygu Göçmen, 'Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa Külliyesi/ Complex Direklerarası', pp. 76–89.

35. Canatar, ed., *İstanbul Vakıfları*, p. 135; see also the article 'Çandarlı' in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8, 208–10 (by Münir Aktepe).

36. Soner Özışık, 'Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa Hamamı/Çandarlı Ibrahim Pasha Hamam', in Kozar et al., *Hayalet Yapılar*, pp. 54–63.

37. Dağdelen, ed., *Charles Edward Goad*, map no. 26, and see also the 'Plan index' before map no. 24.

38. Evliya Çelebi, vol. 1, pp. 211, 334. Perhaps this mosque is identical to the building a few steps towards the sea from the covered market, which the Goad map attributes to Maktul İbrahim Paşa.

39. The present project owes a great deal to the large-scale enterprise undertaken by Murat Güvenç, Eda Yücesoy and a

group of younger scholars in urban and regional planning, who have set out to map Istanbul enterprises of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Impressed by their work and also by the studies of Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran on listings of Istanbul residents shortly before and after 1800, I have attempted to 'connect' with this project: Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Selling sweetmeats and traversing the capital', pp. 165–76.

For the years around 1800 there are the important contributions by Cengiz Kırlı and Betül Başaran: Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force', pp. 125–40; Betül Başaran, 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity'.

40. Aydın et al. eds, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 24 Numaralı Sicil*, p. 218.
41. Some guilds that probably were multiconfessional in earlier times seem to have reorganized according to religion during the 1800s; for a Jewish case compare Minna Rozen, 'Boatmen's and fishermen's guilds in nineteenth-century Istanbul', pp. 72–93.

Chapter 14 In quest of their daily bread

1. Lütfi Güçer, 'XVIII. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İstanbul'un İaşesi için Lüzumlu Hububatın Temini Meselesi', pp. 397–416; *idem*, 'Osmanlı İmparatorluğu dahilinde Hububat Ticaretinin Tabi Olduğu Kayıtlar', pp. 79–98; Münir Aktepe, 'XVIII. Asrın İlk Yarısında İstanbul'un Nüfus Mes'elesine Dâir Bâzı Vesikalar', pp. 1–30; Mehmet Genç, 'Osmanlı Esnafı ve Devletle İlişkileri', pp. 113–30; Salih Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları, Zahire Ticareti* and idem, 'The millers and bakers of Istanbul', pp. 153–94.
2. Antonie (sic) Olivier, *18. yüzyılda türkiye ve Istanbul*, p. 30.
3. Betül Başaran, 'The 1829 Census', pp. 53–72 and 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity'.
4. Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri*, pp. 68–9 and elsewhere.
5. Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force', pp. 125–40.
6. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Immigrant tradesmen as guild members', pp. 187–207.
7. Daniel Panzac, *La Peste dans l'Empire Ottoman*, p. 117.
8. Engin Akarlı, 'Gedik: a bundle of rights and obligations', pp. 166–200.
9. On Istanbul furriers in the eighteenth century compare: Markus Koller, 'The Istanbul Fur market in the 18th century',

pp. 115–30.

10. Kırlı, ‘A profile of the labor force’. Since we are here concerned with crafts and shopkeeping, I have not considered the over 100 gardens as separate enterprises.
11. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler’, Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia,* pp. 230–3.
12. Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New*, Abdullah Uçman, ‘Ebubekir Ratip Efendi’nin Nemçe Seyahatnamesi’, pp. 155–60.
13. Bursa sicili B100, fol. 75b. no. 272 (1204/1789–90).
14. Neşe Erim has studied these questions and I thank her for the information she has provided.
15. Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları* and ‘The millers and bakers of Istanbul’.
16. Enver Ziya Karal, ed., *III. Selim’in Hatt-ı Hümayunlari-Nizam-i Cedit.*
17. [Ahmed Efendi], *Ruzname: III. Selim’in Sır Katibi Ahmed Efendi tarafından tutulan Ruzname.*
18. Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları*, p. 137 and elsewhere. Aynural, ‘The millers and bakers of Istanbul’ contains English translations of several of Sultan Selim’s comments.
19. Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, Ebubekir Efendi, *Asiler ve Gaziler*, pp. 40–1.
20. Tolga Uğur Esmer, ‘Religion and rebellion’.
21. The troubles of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries recently have interested several gifted young scholars, including Ali Yaycıoğlu, who has defended a thesis on the *sened-i ittifak* at Harvard University in 2007. Aysel Danacı Yıldız, also a recent PhD (Sabancı University, Istanbul), has studied the uprising of Kabakçı Mustafa (1808). See also the same author’s introduction to *Asiler ve Gaziler*, pp. 7–27. Başak Tuğ’s study of violence against women during the Selimian period, based on her New York University PhD thesis (2009), should soon be published.
22. Suraiya Faroqhi, ‘Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılın Başlarında Antalya Limanı’, pp. 1461–71, and ‘Exporting grain from the Anatolian southwest’, pp. 293–317.
23. Traian Stoianovich, ‘The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant’, pp. 234–313.
24. Daniel Panzac, *Barbary Corsairs*, pp. 212–14.

25. Aynural, *İstanbul Değirmenleri ve Fırınları*, pp. 5–16.
26. Mehmet Genç, 'Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş', *Yapıt*, 49, 4 (1984), pp. 52–61; 50, 5 (1984), pp. 86–93.
27. Olivier, *18. yüzyılda türkiye ve istanbul*, p. 62.
28. Halil Inalcik, 'Capital formation in the Ottoman Empire', pp. 97–140.
29. Metin Kunt, 'Derviş Mehmed Paşa', pp. 197–214.
30. Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, Ebubekir Efendi, *Asiler ve Gaziler*, pp. 7–8.
31. Süleyman Özmucur and Şevket Pamuk, 'Real Wages and Standards of Living in the Ottoman Empire,' pp. 293–321.
32. Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, Ebubekir Efendi, *Asiler ve Gaziler*, pp. 40–45, 98–103.
33. Ibid., pp. 53 and 114.
34. Ibid., pp. 54 and 115.
35. Annemarike Stremmelaar, *Justice and Revenge in the Ottoman Rebellion of 1703*.
36. William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France*.
37. Ubeydullah Kuşmânî, Ebubekir Efendi, *Asiler ve Gaziler*, pp. 56 and 117.
38. Ibid., pp. 39–44 and 98–104.
39. Ibid., pp. 55 and 117.
40. Betül Başaran and Cengiz Kırlı, 'Preliminary observations on Istanbul's artisans during the reign of Selim III'.
41. Ahmet Kal'a et al. eds, *İstanbul Külliyatı: İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri*, vol. II, *İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat I,* pp. 14–15.
42. I owe this consideration to Başaran and Kırlı, 'Preliminary observations on Istanbul's artisans'.

Chapter 15 Conclusion

1. Alan Mikhail, 'An irrigated empire', pp. 569–90.
2. Christopher A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars,* p. 63.
3. Sofroni von Vratsa, *Leben und Leiden des sündigen Sofroni*, pp. 6–8.
4. Anonymous author, Die Welt der Habsburger/Maria Theresa in Turkish dress 'Not without my janissary'. http://www.google.de/search?q=maria+theresa+in+turkish+dress&rls=com.microsoft:de:IE-

Address&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&sourceid=ie7&rlz=1I7ADBF_de&redir

5. Ebubekir Ratib Efendi, *Ebubekir Ratib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefaretnamesi*.
6. Gilles Veinstein, 'Les pèlerins de La Mecque', pp. 63–71.
7. Garo Kürkman, *Toprak, Ateş Sır: Tarihsel gelişimi, atölyeleri ve ustalarıyla Kütahya çini ve seramikleri*.
8. Johann Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen Anno 1604*.
9. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor eds., *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders*.
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11. Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Black slaves and freedmen celebrating', pp. 205–15.
12. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, p. XIV.
13. Johann Michael Heberer von Bretten, *Aegyptiaca Servitus*. Claudia Ulbrich (Freie Universität Berlin) is currently preparing a study of this work.
14. Rinaldo Marmara ed., *İstanbul Deniz Zindanı*.
15. Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*.
16. Halil Inalcik, 'The hub of the city', pp. 1–17.
17. Hrand Andreasyan, 'Celâlilerden Kaçan Anadolu Halkının Geri Gönderilmesi,' in pp. 45–54.
18. Cengiz Kırlı, 'A profile of the labor force', pp. 125–40; Betül Başaran, 'Remaking the Gate of Felicity'.

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Endnote

1 Chapters 1, 2 and 5 have been published in German, chapter 4 has been published in Turkish, while chapters 9 and 13 have not appeared anywhere else. Thus six of the articles in this volume have not previously been available in English. My profound thanks to Ayşenur Korkmaz and Hayim Malkhasy for their help with the bibliography and index.

'In this study, Faroqhi once again demonstrates the enormous erudition and the unrivalled mastery of the sources that have made her the leading Ottoman historian of her generation. As always, she writes with an eye for anecdotal detail that makes the different stories of the travellers come alive.'

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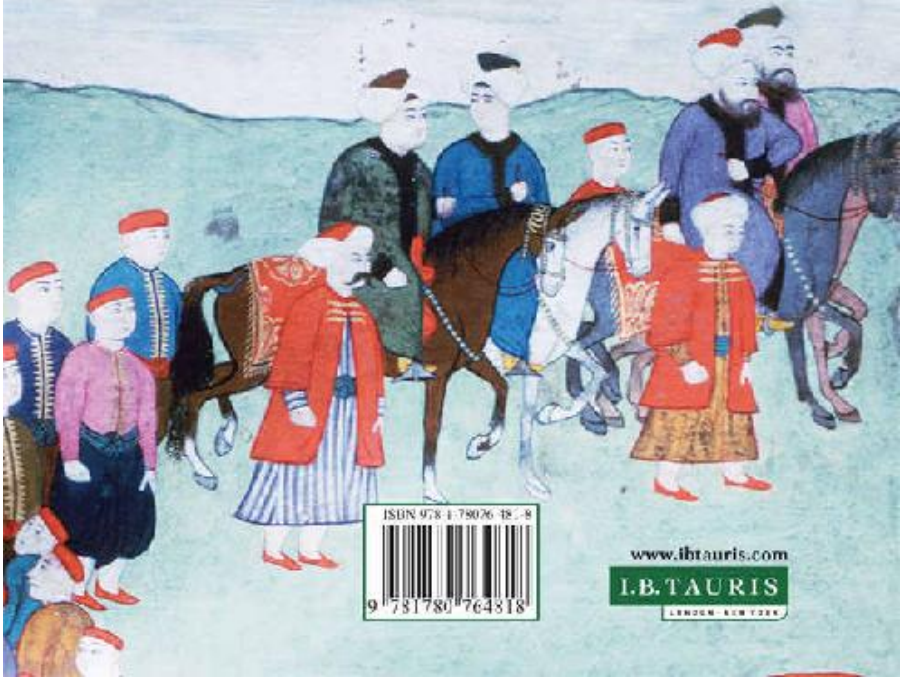

ISBN 978 1 78076 48 8

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